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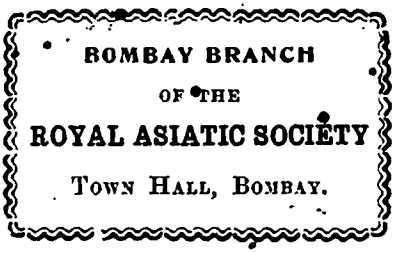

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James V or The Gudeman of Ballang.

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PREFACE.

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THE leading facts in the political or historical
fe of James the Fifth are perhaps sufficiently
known; but it is questionable if justice has been
lone to his character as a sovereign. It is, how-
ever, not so much with the view of attempting to
throw new light upon the national transactions in
h he was engaged, and so to draw his kingly
it in accordance with their lights and shades,
trace more minutely those social and poeti-
its which some have accorded and others
him.

s nowhere been admitted that he was
ormer, though the institution of the
is universally conceded to have
ry novelty of the age; and al
y, he was popularly desig
Commons," from his consta
avouri

the position of the people, yet no one has claimed for him the credit of being a social reformer as well. Although acknowledged by his courtiers and literary contemporaries, who knew him best, to be a poet of no ordinary genius; and although tradition uniformly ascribes to him the authorship of "Christ's Kirk on the Green," "The Gaberlunzie Man," and "The Jollie Beggar" (poems or ballads unsurpassed for genuine humour in any language), yet scepticism has so far prevailed with some of the learned as to attribute them to others. In this belief the late Dr Irving altogether omitted the royal author in his "Lives of the Scottish Poets."

It is, therefore, in the hope of contributing to place the shade of James the Fifth, the frolic-loving "Gudeman of Ballangeich," in something like his true position, that we have undertaken the present volume; and although it seemed desirable to [illegible] recapitulation of well-known historical [illegible] has been found impossible to do this [illegible] and yet bring out the result intended, [illegible] at the same time, will be found [illegible] the way of elucidating the King's [illegible] poetical life, than in dwelling [illegible] and poli[illegible]

It will be admitted that the task has not been ithout its difficulties. The historians of the period James V. are extremely one-sided, and between ir contradictory statements and opinions it is t easy to arrive at a proper estimate of the truth. e public records frequently supply the best crite- n. They speak of facts, without colouring; and hough they do not afford anything like a con- ed chain of action, yet they furnish hints and cumstances that help to eke out a true narrative. y are particularly useful in matters of time and e--as to which our historians—(not, in some ce, excluding even Tytler) are extremely care- and inaccurate. Hardly two of them, for e, coincide as to the day on which the sub- of our sketch was born. They agree as to he was married to Magdalene of France, but ict each other as to the day of her death. most every circumstance—save, perhaps, some important national event—they differ widely. ort, it is unsafe to trust them, in almost any ce, without verifying the statement otherwise e were somewhat puzzled with the date of th marriage of James. His first queen, t delicate Magdalene, died 7th Ju

1537. His second, Mary of Guise, landed near St Andrews in May 1538. Her marriage is generally set down as having occurred in this year; but stone and lime do not usually err. The ruins of Falkland Palace, restored, if not almost wholly rebuilt by James, have the initials "I. R. 15[illegible] M. G." in various places—thus commemorating the year of their marriage, and of the building of at least a portion of the palace. This enigma is solved by the fact that the date refers to the marriage as entered into in France; by proxy on the part of the King, and not to its celebration after the Queen's arrival at St Andrews.

The reader will perceive, in the course of the work, that we have been greatly indebted to the labours of the late Robert Pitcairn, Esq., whose "Criminal Trials," and copious extracts from the "Privy Seal Register" and "Treasurer's Accounts" have revealed an invaluable source of information to the antiquary and historian.

March 1861.

JAMES THE FIFTH;

OR THE

"GUDEMAN OF BALLANGEICH."

CHAPTER I.

OF SCOTLAND DURING THE NONAGE OF THE KING.

R to the Union of the Crowns, the greatest that befell Scotland arose out of disputed succ-ons and minorities; and at no time was faction busily at work than during the nonage of V. He was little more than a year old when ier, with the flower of the nobility, fell at , in 1513. That disastrous event was im-ly followed by a revival of all the worst nd ambitions which seem to have been in-in the Scottish barons; and which, from the ar of independence, in the thirteenth and th centuries, proved a continual source of division, strife, and weakness.

en Margaret, the "Rose of most plesance," of the poet Dunbar had sung under auspicious stances, became Regent on the death of her

husband, according to the royal settlement, with the charge of her son, the young heir to the crown. No woman had ever before held sway in Scotland, but this was overlooked in consequence of the great esteem entertained for the memory of James. Whatever her political views may have been at this time, her connection with England, as the sister of Henry VIII., was too intimate to be satisfactory to the bulk of the people, especially in the guardianship of the future monarch. Her unseemly marriage, however, with the ambitious Earl of Angus, then a young man, speedily brought matters to a crisis. By this event, which occurred in the summer of 1514, scarcely eight months after the death of the king, she forfeited her right to the regency. The country, formerly split up into at least three leading factions—those headed by Douglas, Hamilton and Hepburn (the two latter being at strife regarding the Archbishoprick of St Andrews)—now coalesced into two great parties, known in history as the *English* and *French*. Angus and the Queen were at the head of the former, and the Duke of Albany, then in France, at that of the latter. The English party preferred an alliance with France, and represented the national feeling. Angus and his party insisted on the advantages to be derived from a cordial understanding with England. The arguments by which this was urged were no doubt good in themselves; but where was the guarantee that

France had been discarded, Henry would not renew
he old claim of superiority over Scotland, and bend
he whole power of England against her? There
no getting over such an objection in the popu-
ind.
nwhile Henry, through his able minister,
Dacre, was the mainspring of the Angus fac-
and many of the Scottish nobles were in his
It is perhaps too much to say, as Tytler has
hat these men were actuated alone by venal
s, and for the purpose of betraying their
y. They may have been sincerely of opinion
e English alliance and the Reformation prin-
were the best. But there is every reason to
e that Angus had chiefly in view the aggran-
ent of himself and faction. As husband of
ueen, he claimed through her a sort of tute-
over the young monarch; and Tytler shews
hey had both agreed to fly with the royal
n to England, thus to give Henry full power
the Scottish succession. They were balked
, however; but bands of armed men, in the
England, continued to traverse the country,
itting all kinds of ravages, provoking feuds,
wing the seeds of civil war.
lter Kennedy, the poet and friend of Dunbar,
graphic and true account of the times in his
entitled

JOK UP-A-LAND'S COMPLAINT

AGAINST THE COURT IN THE KING'S NONAGE.

Now is the King in tender age,
O Chryst! conserve him in his eild,
To do justice to man and page,
That gars our land lie lang unteild,
Though we do double pay their wage;
Puir commons presently are peild.
They ride about in sic a rage,
By firth and forest, muir and field,
With bow, buckler and brand.
So where they ride intil the ry,[1]
The deil mot tane the company,
I pray it fra my heart truly,
This said Jok Up-a-land.

He that was wont to bear the barrows
Betwixt the bake-house and the brew-house,
On twenty shilling now he tarrows,
To ride the hiegait by the plews;
But were I king, and had gude fallows,
In Norroway they sould hear of news;
I sould him tak, and all his marrows,
And hing them hich upon yon hews,[2]
And thereto plichts my hand.
On all thir lords and barons grit,
Upon a gallows sould I knit,
That thus down treadit has our whit:
This said Jok Up-a-land.

But wald ilk lord that our law leads,
To husbands reason do with skill,

[1] Ryce, brushwood.

[2] In Denmark there was a practice of exposing the dead criminals upon wheels raised above the ground.

To chak thir chieftains by the heads,
And hing them hich upon a hill;
Then husbands [1] labour micht their steads,[2]
And priests micht patter and pray their fill:
For husbands sould not have sic pleads,
And sheep and nolt micht lie full still,
And stacks and ricks micht stand.
For sen they raid amang our doors,
With splent on spald [3] and jousty spurs,
There grew nae fruit until our furs:
This said Jok Up-a-land.

Tak a puir man a sheep or twae,
For hunger or for fault of food,
To five or sax wee bairns or mae,
They will him hang in halters rude;
Bût gif ane tak a flock or sae,
A bow [4] of ky, and let them blood,
Full safely may he ride or gae:
I wit not gif thir laws be gude,
I shrew [5] them first them fand.
O Jesu, for thy haly passioun,
Grant to him grace that wears the croun,
To ding thir mony king's all doun,
This said Jok Up-a-land.

Jok Up-a-land—a fictitious character com-
vith the old poets—Kennedy meant a person
in the country. Though the sixth son of
t, first Lord Kennedy, and educated for the
, yet he may have referred to himself, for at

sbandmen, farmers. [2] Lands. [3] Sleeves, or epaulets
r shoulder. [4] Bow, a certain number or a fold of cattle.

the time the verses were written he possessed the property of Glentig, lying among the hills of Carrick. He did not allow his descent from the noble house of Cassilis to pervert his ideas of justice, and saw with regret the poor husbandman not only deprived of the fruits of his toil, but the land lying waste, through the strong-handed confusion which prevailed in almost every district of the country. "Jok Up-a-land's Complaint"[1] bears out the statement of the historian in a remarkable degree. It is to be regretted, however, that the regular [illegible] of the Books of Adjournal do not begin till No[illegible]

[1] There is reason to believe that the Kennedies were opposed to the faction by which such a state of things was promoted. Buchanan, in his *History of Scotland*, tells the following anecdote of Gilbert, second Earl of Cassilis, and nephew of the poet of Glentig: "After this victory (the victory of Linlithgow, fought by Lennox for the freedom of the young king) the Douglasses, to keep down the faction of their enemies, who had make them subject to their will, proceeded in the law against those who had taken up arms against the King, as they phrased it; so that, for fear of a trial, many were forced to compound with them for money; some put themselves into the clanship of the Hamiltons, others into that of the Douglasses; but the more obstinate were called to the bar; amongst whom was Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, who, when he was pressed by James Hamilton, the bastard, to place himself under the protection of the Hamiltons, out of greatness of his spirit made this answer: 'That there was a league of friendship made between both their grandfathers, in which his grandfather was always named *first*, as the more honourable: and that he would not now so far degenerate from the virtue of his family, or the glory of his ancestors, as to put himself

ber 1524, so that twelve years of the nominal reign f James V. are without any regular record of me.

The Duke of Albany, who had been earnestly in- l to Scotland by the national party, arrived at barton 20th May 1515. Though not altogether ar, on account of the antecedents of his , and his intimate connection with France, forthwith appointed regent. His difficulties with the Queen, who refused to comply with ler of Parliament, requiring her to place her en under the tuition of certain noblemen.[1]

nage (which was but one degree from plain slavery) *of* that whose *chief* was always content with the *second place.*' when Gilbert was called to his answer at a day appointed, ennedy, his kinsman, made answer for him, that he had n up arms *against* the king, but *for* him; for he was com- to be at that fight, and, if it should be needful, he profferred e the King's letters to that purpose. The Hamiltons were ubled at his boldness, for indeed the King had wrote to Gil- en he came from Court, as well as others, that he should take h John Stuart (Earl of Lennox): but, seeing the battle was , insomuch that he could have no time to call together his and kindred, as he was upon the way, he turned aside, se of his family that were with him, to Stirling.

e violence of the Hamiltons was somewhat abated by this but James the bastard, fired with a mortal hatred against y, a few days after, as he was return in home, he caused be murdered on the way, by means of Hugh Campbell, of Ayr." (Kennedy was set upon and slain at Prestwick, in 27.)

y 31, 1515. Item, to Johne Balfoure, officiare, to pass with

Her reluctance, however, was overcome by force of arms;[1] still the English faction mustered so strongly on the Border, under Home and the Douglasses, aided by Henry, that it required a display of 40,0 men, with Albany at their head, to put it down the time. The Queen, resisting all the overtur the Regent and Parliament, fled to England implored the protection of her brother both a Albany and her husband, with whom she had relled. Henry carried his interference so fa demand the removal of Albany, but the I refused in a spirited document. This occur 1516. Though disappointed, the English mo still continued his system of corruption, unde Dacre, and had at one time, according to Tyt less than 400 Scots in his pay, whose duty to ravage the country with fire and sword, Angus and his friends kept up a secret corr dence with the English court.

Historians have been critical of the cond Albany as regent, and trace much of the con that prevailed not only to his want of firmne sagacity, but to a lack of heartiness in Sc

thre letteris and credence (warrant of the Governor an Council), of my Lord Governburis, with deligence, to the Erskine, Flemyng, and Lard of Keire, for keping of the rwce, xiijs. *Treas. Accts.* This appointment was subse modified.

[1] Respites were granted to numerous parties engaged i affair in 1526.

matters. There is, no doubt, some truth in this; t Tytler takes a more charitable, and perhaps a e correct view of the case. Every one acquaint- with history must be aware of the difficulty of g Scotland. Her feudal lords seem only to n in their natural element when at enmity h other, or plotting against the crown; and ed too by the money and arms of England, eady to put forth her exploded claim of ority. Well, therefore, might the Regent, ed with the perfidy of some, and the endless of others, resolve at last to seek repose in d of his adoption.

while he went vigorously to work. Alex- Home, the Lord Chancellor, and his brother , ever busy in their intrigues, were seized at nd brought to trial. One of the accusations them was their alleged instrumentality in th of James IV. at Flodden. Sir Walter n his "Tales of a Grandfather," vindicates duct of the Homes at that battle. After st successful charge, along with Huntly, he y were kept in check by the English cavalry Dacre; but this is not well supported. The of England never could withstand the ad- of the Scottish spear; and the fact that, even he Scots had retired next morning from the Surrey durst not pursue because the Homes ng in a body upon his flank, seems to prove

that they could easily have come in aid of th king's battle. The old ballad of the "Sout of Selkirk" is, at all events, confirmatory of popular opinion at the time:

"Up wi' the souters o' Selkirk,[1]
And *down wi' the Earl o' Home;*
And up wi' a' the braw lads
That sew the single-sóled shoon."

In whatever way the accusation was support otherwise, the two Homes were condemned executed, Alexander on the 11th October 151 William the day after. Ker of Fernyherst had also been apprehended, was respited. T gent now traversed the Border with a stron and reducing it to order, left De la Bastie, ce in Border song, as warden of the marches was an impolitic appointment, as the result s he was soon afterwards slain by the Ho revenge for the execution of their chiefs.[2]

[1] The levy from Selkirk fought bravely in the king's di

[2] A ballad narrating this tragical affair (not to be fou "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border") was published in th tish Journal," in 1848, the correspondent by whom it wa buted stating that it had been copied from the recital of Gillies, skinner, Dunse, about fifty years previously. Gi nearly eighty when he died, and he had the ballad from hi The following are a few of the concluding verses:—

"Sir David Home, that stern old carle,
Came up, and in a trice,

Albany, much to the grief of the country, resolved to go abroad for some time. The urgency of his affairs in France supplied him with a pretext for such a step. A council of regency was accordingly appointed, with Arran at its head, and he left towards the close of 1516. His departure was celebrated by Dunbar, the well-known court-poet of James IV., in what he called "An Orison when the Governor past into France." Of the distracted state of the country at the time, the Orison gives a lamentable picture:

* * * * *
Thou that on rood us ransomed and redeemed,
Rue on our sin, before your sicht decided;
Spare our trespass, which may not be expremed,[1]
For brief of justice, for we may not abide it;

As Beautie[2] and his horse were bog'd,
Did stab him twice or thrice.

Tam Trotter then cut off his head,
And tied it by the hair
Upon Sir David's saddle-bow—
To Dunse they did repair.

And when they came to that fair town,
The people cried, God-speed;
Upon the Tolbuith's highest part,
They placed Sir d'Arcy's head.

[1] Expressed. [2] De la Bastie.

Help this puir realm, in parties all divided !
Us success send that wore the crown of thorn,
That with the gift of grace it may be guided,
For, but [1] thy help, this kynrick is forlorn.

Lord ! hold thy hand, that stricken has so sore ;
Have of us pity, after our punition ;
And give us grace Thee for to grieve no more,
And gar us mend with penance and contrition ;
And to thy vengeance make no addition,
As thou of miehtis may to-morn,
From care to comfort thou make restitution ;
For, but thy help, this kynrick is forlorn.

There is something peculiarly mournful in this "earnest cry and prayer" of the aged bard in behalf of his ruined country—he who had witnessed its prosperity under the former reign, and participated in the joyousness of a court now no more.

Arran, who succeeded as head of the Council of Regency, was by no means fitted for such a position. Through his ill-judged clemency, the Queen-mother was permitted to return to Scotland, and the principal parties concerned in the murder of De la Bastie were, on their submission, pardoned. To add to the difficulties of the regency, the Isles (1517-18), attempted to throw off their allegiance, and Angus, backed by Henry, continued to stir up mischief. The Queen and he, from misconduct on both sides, had been long estranged, and she was

[1] Without.

desirous of obtaining a divorce. Her plea for this extreme measure, according to Cant, was, that while at the court of England, where she gave birth to a daughter, Lady Margaret Douglas, mother of Lord Darnley, Angus had had a child by a daughter of Lord Traquair, which child was afterwards married to Patrick Lord Ruthven.[1] Henry opposed the Queen's wishes, on the ground, no doubt, that Angus, at the head of a powerful party, was useful to him. Growing more ambitious as he increased in years, the designs of Angus became equally daring and dangerous. In 1520 occurred the well-known encounter between the Douglas and Hamilton factions, called "cleanse the causeway," in which the Douglasses, having taken possession of the High Street, were enabled to attack and defeat the Hamiltons in detail as they emerged from the closes. Regaining his influence in the state, in consequence, Angus now became one of the regents, and interfered greatly to the disadvantage of Arran. Amidst the contentions of the Council, the Queen, who could hardly be expected to be steady in her purposes when all were so vacillating, at length implored Albany to return from France. Still possessing considerable influence in the state, Albany responded to her call, and entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 30th October 1521. Angus fled

[1] Traquair, along with others, appears in the Books of Adjournal for aiding and abetting Angus after his forfeiture.

precipitately, passing through England to France, where, it is said, he applied himself to such studies as might better aid him in his future career. "The whole five years," says Buchanan, "that the Regent was absent, were very full of tumult; there was no end of pillaging and killing till his return."

In 1522 Henry threatened war if Albany was not removed from the government, and speedily the Earl of Shrewsbury entered Scotland with a considerable force, but he was repulsed with loss by the Borderers. War was then declared against England. Meanwhile the Queen, becoming suddenly opposed to Albany, betrayed the secrets of the country to her brother. Notwithstanding, Albany advanced towards the Border with an army of 80,000 men, and a well-appointed complement of artillery. He penetrated as far as Carlisle, and threw the whole north of England into a panic. Henry, intimidated by so imposing a force, departed from his imperative demand, and peace was arranged.

The Regent, foreseeing that this was merely a temporary negotiation, proceeded again to France (25th Oct. 1522), with the view of procuring aid. He returned (20th Sept. 1523), landing at Arran, with 50 ships, 3000 foot, and 1000 cuirassiers. The Queen had now become an open enemy, conspiring with Surrey and Dacre, in behalf of her brother. The question of an alliance with England or with

France was again much discussed at this time, and created great dubiety in the public mind. War, however, was declared of new, and 40,000 men were assembled on the Borough-muir at Edinburgh. At the head of this army, the Governor left for the Border on the 22d October, and arriving at Melrose, the chiefs refused to advance farther. Here a scheme was discovered to deliver Albany to the English, if he persisted in the war. An opinion prevailed, no doubt encouraged by the English faction, that Albany was anxious to embroil the two countries, to serve the interest of France at the expense of Scotland—hence the resolution of the army not to cross the boundary of the two kingdoms. Albany was therefore compelled to retreat, and dismissing the French auxiliaries, left Scotland for ever. He sailed on the 20th of May 1824.

CHAPTER II.

BOYHOOD OF THE KING.

JAMES THE FIFTH was born at the Palace of Linlithgow, on the 10th of April 1512. The death of his father, at Flodden, the year following,[1] entailed

[1] Flodden-field was fought on the 9th Sept. 1513.

upon him a fate which might have been far otherwise had the prudence and military judgment of James IV. at all equalled his chivalrous courage. It is painful to reflect on how much misery, nationally and individually, involving his own family, followed in the wake of this one great mistake of the Scottish monarch. Margaret, his youthful queen—not much more at his death than twenty-five years of age—had conducted herself so as to gain the admiration of all with whom she came in contact. Dunbar, the court-poet, had sung her praises in "The Thistle and the Rose," when, at the age of fourteen, she became the Queen of Scotland; and he seems throughout to have been animated by the highest respect for her, not only as his queen, but for her personal character. Even after the sorrowful event which made her a widow, the poet failed not to offer the consolation of his muse in language which evidently flowed from affection:

"O fair, sweet blossom, now in beauty's flower,
Unfaded baith of colour and virtue,
Thy noble lord that died has done devoir,
Fade not with weeping thy visage fair of hue;
O lovesome, lusty lady, wise and true,
Cast out all care, and comfort do incress,
Exile all sighing, on thy servant rue![1]
Devoid all langour, and live in lustiness."

That Margaret possessed much natural talent, though

[1] Have pity.

by no means well educated, is admitted by historians; and the device is generally attributed to her of the apparition in the church of Linlithgow, warning the king against the invasion of England. That she was high-tempered, unstable in her moods, and given to pleasure, is amply proved by her conduct after the death of James IV. Had he lived, these humours possibly never would have been developed offensively, and she might have passed through life without a blemish in the eyes of posterity. Every one could see that her marriage with the youthful Angus, almost as soon as she had given birth to her posthumous son, Alexander, was an affair of passion, to gratify which she sacrificed the sacred trust of regent, with the upbringing of her children. Dunbar's address to the Queen must have been written soon after the death of James, when her grief for his loss was violent, and when, being *enciente*, she had shut herself out from the world for a time. Her marriage with Angus seems to have sealed the lips of the poet; and unless he had secured some preferment prior to this event, the probability is that he would be wholly overlooked in the struggle of party which followed.

The Queen appears to have resided at Holyrood in her capacity of regent, even after her marriage with Angus. This palace had been so far completed in 1503, that her marriage with James IV. was

celebrated there.[1] On the appointment of Albany as regent, she refused compliance with the order of parliament, as already stated, and fled with her children to Stirling Castle. Thither she was followed by the Regent, at the head of 7000 men; and finding such a force too great to be resisted, she delivered the keys of the stronghold into the hands of the infant monarch, so early was James initiated into the party-struggles of his distracted country. He was now placed under the care of the Earl Marshal, and the Lords Fleming and Borthwick, and continued at Stirling till the end of 1516, or beginning of 1517, when he was brought to Edinburgh Castle, and intrusted to the care of Lord Erskine and the Earl Marshal. While in Stirling Castle, Archibald Earl of Angus made an attempt to possess himself of the persons of the young King and his brother Alexander, Duke of Ross. Henry Anderson, in Newale, and seven other assistants, had a remission for the crime, dated 16th April 1516.[2] Certain Englishmen, whose names do not appear, came to Edinburgh to see the young prince, with whom the

[1] In 1504 (10th September), James IV. granted a pension of £40 a year to "Maister Leonarde Logy, for his gude and thankfull service done, and to be done, to the Kingis Hienes, and specialie for his diligent and grete laubour maid be him in the bigging of the palace, beside the Abbay of the Haly Croce."

[2] Privy Seal Register.

governor and the "lairds nearest Edinburgh," rode to Stirling.[1]

Chalmers, in his "Poetic Remains of the Scottish Kings," says the Queen "confided the education of her infant son to Gawyn Dunbar, the Prior of Whithorn, a person of learning and merit, who rose by his conduct, amidst much competition, to be Archbishop of Glasgow. In this delicate task of instructing the youthful prince, he was aided by various pages of uncommon talents." That this appointment was actually made by the Queen is doubtful, seeing that the guardianship of her son had been transferred to other hands in 1515. Dunbar's name, as tutor to the King, first appears in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1517: Feb. 17. "Item, gevin to Maister Gavin Dunbar, the Kingis maister, to by necessar thingis for the Kingis chamer, ix lib." Again, Aug. 28. "Item, to Maister Gawin Dunbar, the Kingis Maister, for expensis maid be him in reparaling of the chamer in the quhilk the King leris,[2] now in the Castell, iij lib." These items refer to expenses incurred by Dunbar in repairing the

[1] The payment for summoning the lairds is dated 8th August, so that James appears to have been then in Stirling. His entry into Edinburgh was announced by cannon.—"April 23, 1517.—Item, to xiiij pynouris, which drew the artalyere in the castell, at the Kingis cumin to this towne." The King, therefore, seems to have come to Edinburgh in the beginning of 1517, in place of June 1516, as stated by Tytler.

[2] Learns.

apartment in which the youthful monarch was taught.

Amongst the "pages of uncommon talents" who assisted in the education of the Prince, the earliest was David Lyndsay, the poet, better known as Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King-at-Arms. He was descended from the Byres family, through William Lyndsay of Garmylton in Haddingtonshire. His father, David, had acquired the Mount, in Fifeshire, and he is supposed to have been born about 1490. He studied at St Andrews, and entered the service of James IV. when he was probably nineteen years of age. He himself says, in his *Complaint:*

> "Or if I be predestinate
> In court to be unfortunate;
> Whilk has so lang in service been,
> Continually with King and Queen,
> And entered to thy majesty
> The day of thy nativity."

He was thus made a page of honour to the newly born Prince, and intrusted with his amusement as soon as he was capable of being amused. In an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, 11th Sep. 1515, when he is paid £10 to account of his yearly pension of £40, he is styled "keeper of the King's grace;" but his true position was *usher*, as is shewn by another entry: Jan. 18, 1517. "Item, in Perth

[1] Lyndsay's Works, by Chalmers.

to David Lindsay, the Kingis *uschare*, for his Martimes fee, *de mandato*, xx lib."[1] These payments occur termly in the accounts. David himself, in his *Dream*, very beautifully describes the manner in which he performed the duties of his office. Addressing the King, he says—

"When thou was young I bare thee in mine arm
Full tenderly, till thou begoud to gang;
And in thy bed oft happit thee full warm;
With lute in hand, syne softly to thee sang.
Sometime, in dancing, feirelie[2] I flang;
And sometime playing farsis[3] on the floor,
And sometime on mine office taking cure.

And sometime like a fiend, transfigurate,
And sometime like the grisly ghaist of Gy,[4]
In diverse forms oft-times disfigurate,
And sometime disguised full pleasantly;
So, sen thy birth, I have continually
Been occupied, and aye to thy pleasure,
And sometime sewar,[5] copper,[6] and carvoure.[7]

Thy purse-maister and secret thesaurer,
Thy usher aye sen thy nativity,
And of thy chamber chief cubicular,[8]
Whilk to this hour has keepit my lawtie,[9]

[1] In this month a *finch* (probably the *goldfinch*) was brought out of England to Falkland for the Governor. Were no such birds in Scotland before?

[2] Merrily, fantastically. [3] Farces.

[4] The ghost of Sir Guy, a well-known character in romance.

[5] The officer who arranges the dishes before dinner.

[6] Cup-bearer. [7] Carver.

[8] Chief of his bed-chamber [9] Been dutiful.

Loving be to the blessed Trinity!
That sic a wretched worm has made so able,
To sic Prince to be so agreeable.

But now thou art by influence natural,
High of ingine, and richt inquisitive
Of antique stories and deeds martial,
Mair pleasantly the time for to oure drive,
I have at length the stories done descrive—
Of *Hector*, *Arthur*, and gentle *Julius*,
Of *Alexander*, and worthy *Pompeius*,

Of *Jason* and *Medea*, all at length,
Of *Hercules* the acts honourable,
And of *Samson* the supernatural strength,
And of leal lovers the stories amiable;
And oft-times have I feignit mony a fable,
Of *Troylus*, the sorrow and the joy,
And sieges all of *Tyre*, *Thebes*, and *Troy*.

The prophecies of *Rhymer*, *Bede*, and *Merlin*,
And of mony other pleasant story,
Of the *Red Etin*,[1] and *Gyir Carlin*.[2]
Comforting thee when that I saw thee sorry;
Now, with support of the King of Glory,
I shall thee shaw a story of the new,
The whilk afore I never to thee shew."

Amongst the other pages of the Prince was John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, a well-known man of letters, and William Stewart, also a scholar and writer. There were, besides, in the young Prince's household, in 1516, " vj rokkaris and nor-

[1] Red Etin, a giant with three heads, mentioned in "The Complaynt of Scotland."

[2] A witch of hideous appearance.

risis" (rockers of the cradle and nurses) to him and his late brother, Alexander.[1] In this year four "Almos gownis and hudis for the Kingis almos," were given, with four purses, containing four shillings each, to four "almosaris." These were, as long afterwards known, the King's *Bedesmen*, so called because it was understood that they should tell their beads, or pray for his majesty. James had then entered upon his fourth year, and every year afterwards an additional Bedesman, gifted in the same manner, was added to the number, as long as he survived. This practice was only done away with in 1837. While yet in the Castle, a present of a quantity of cloth of gold was sent to the Prince from his uncle of England. It is thus recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts: June 19, 1517. "Item, gevin to the Ingliss man that presented the clayth of gold come out of Ingland to the Kingis grace, in the Castell, x light crownis, vij lib."

Historians tell us that the Prince was removed for a short time to Craigmillar, in order to avoid a dangerous epidemic which had broken out in Edinburgh. This disease was called the *pest*. Leslie says—"The Queen being in England, hearing of the departing of the Governor furth of Scotland, returned to Edinburgh the xvij of June with a quiet train; but was not admitted to visit the King in the Castle; while in August thereafter, *because there*

[1] Treasurer's Accounts—for dresses given to them.

was some fear of the pest in the Castle, the King was transported to Craigmillar, where the Queen visited him oft times. But there through raise a great suspicion that he should have been stolen away by her into England; and therefore he was brought again to the Castle of Edinburgh, and was kept there to the returning of the Duke." It was thus surmised that the "fear of the pest" was a ruse to serve the Queen's purpose. On the 15th June, Colin Campbell, the King's servitor, had materials for a new coat bought to him, "at the Quenis cumin to Edinburgh." The fact of the King's removal to Craigmillar, is proved by various entries in the Treasurer's Accounts: August 28 (1517). "Item, for ij great lokkis and keyis, with slottis and stapillis, for the Kingis chamer, he remanand in Craigmillar." James would be in his sixth year at this time; and we learn from the same interesting record that, in riding about the grounds in the vicinity, he had a mule for his pony: "Item, to Robene Purvise, for schoyne, howsis, bredil, and halteris, bocht for the Kingis mule, xxs. viijd." Robin Purvis was probably the groom. James, in consequence of the suspicions entertained, continued only a short time at Craigmillar. Another item, of the same date, shews that he had left prior to the 28th August: "For ij gret lokkis for ij zettis in Cragmyllare, be command of Mons. Labasty, quhen the King *was thair*, xijs."

"Mons. Labasty" was the warden of the marches slain by the Homes, 17th Sept. 1517. He is admitted to have been an active and clever man, and was intrusted by the Governor with a sort of general charge. The Treasurer's Accounts shew that, on being brought back to the Castle, great precautions were taken against his abstraction, and that many articles were furnished to him for his use and diversion.[1] Sir Walter Scott relates that "the young King of Scotland, though yet a boy, began to shew tokens of ill feeling towards the French and Albany. Some nobles asked him what should be done with the French whom the Regent had left behind. 'Give them,' said James, 'to Davie Home's keeping!'" Sir David Home was the chieftain who killed De la Bastie.

After the departure of Albany for France, and the return of the Queen from England, by permission of the Council of Regency under Arran, she contrived to have the young monarch removed from Edinburgh to Stirling. Here he continued, with the exception of a short time passed in the capital in 1522, until he was placed on the throne, in his thirteenth year, in 1524. Albany gave much dissatisfaction by the appointment of foreigners to offices of trust, and particularly in associating one *Grosoley*, or *Grosolez*, sometimes called Captain,

[1] There is an unfortunate blank in these accounts from 4th September 1518 to the year 1523.

and sometimes Duke of Milan,[1] along with John Fourth Lord Erskine, in the custody of the King, with a guard of thirty-three Frenchmen to attend the Queen. The Duke appears frequently in the Treasurer's Accounts as exercising considerable authority. The assumption of the kingly power at so early an age, was, it is said, the work of the Queen, who still had influence enough to effect a complete revolution in the government. James had indeed been crowned at Stirling immediately after his father's death. Sir David Lyndsay, in his *Complaint*, says—

"The King was but twelve years of age,
When new rulers came in their rage;
For commonweal making no care,
But for their profit singular:
Imprudently, like witless fools,
They took the young Prince frae the schools,
Where he, under obedience,
Was learning virtue and science;
And hastily plat in his hand,
The governance of all Scotland."

By this revolution, it would appear from the poet, that the old familiars of the boy-king were discarded, and that he was subjected to a new and by no means improved regimen. Up to his thirteenth year, the time of James had been passed, with brief intervals, at Stirling Castle. It is impossible to say

[1] "Oct. 16, 1529—Item, To the Duke of Millane, at the Kingis command, x l. s."—*Treasurer's Accounts.*

what progress he had made in learning, but it would seem from Sir David that he was in a fair way of acquiring a competent knowledge of science, as it was then understood, when he was ruthlessly carried away to occupy the nominal position of sovereign, in the hands of a faction. It is perhaps a little curious, that neither at Stirling[1] nor Falkland are there any traditions respecting the early years of the King.

CHAPTER III.

THE YOUNG KING UNDER THE DOUGLASSES.

THE revolution by which James was placed so prematurely on the throne, had been the work chiefly of the Queen-mother and Arran; and, as Tytler observes, if she had conducted herself with prudence equal to her talent, she might have laid the foundation of a solid reign. The event was highly approved of by her brother, Henry of England, who sent the King a guard of two hundred men-at-arms, with a present of two hundred merks to herself, and a hundred pounds to Arran. Prior to this, there

[1] At Stirling the hill is pointed out where he used to play at *hurly-hacket*, a boyish sport, which consists in sliding on a board down a precipice.

existed a sort of body-guard, called the "foot-band," composed of paid or hired soldiers, in contradistinction to the feudal levies, which constituted the national defence in time of war. In the prologue to Sir David Lyndsay's play of "The Satire of the Three Estates," Finlay of the Foot-band is introduced, and, after much swaggering, is put to flight by the fool, who terrifies him with a sheep's-skull on a poll. Sir Walter Scott, in "The Lady of the Lake," describes the guard-room at Stirling Castle as occupied by soldiers of the Foot-band :—

> "These drew not for their fields the sword,
> Like tenants of a feudal lord,
> Nor owned the patriarchal claim
> Of chieftain, in their leader's name;
> Adventurers they, from far who roved,
> To live by battle which they loved."

In the Privy Seal Register, there is a letter by the King, dated 11th September 1524 :—"At the takin of our autoritie, riall, and government of our realme upon our self," constituting Robert Lord Maxwell principal Captain, and James Stewart, brother-german to Andro Lord Avandale, principal Lieutenant, "for all the dais of thare lifis, of our *Garde, Bande,* and *Company of Wageouris,*[1] baith fut-men and *horse-men.*" It would thus seem that the *Wageouris* were a distinct body from the *Guard* (horsemen) or the *Band.* They were probably

[1] Waged, or paid soldiers.

called *waged*, because of their not being enlisted for any particular time, but standing more in the position of day's-wage men, or pioneers, and who performed the more laborious duties devolving upon the regular soldiers. The "pynouris" are often mentioned in connection with the conveying of artillery from one place to another. About the same time, Robert Gib had a letter of "the gift of the service of steropmanschip [stirrup-holder] to the King during the King's will. Gib was Master of the Stables. The earliest notice of the foot-band we have met, occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts:—"10*th March* 1518.—Item, for aile to the waiche (watch) that nycht my Lord Regent [Arran] lugit in Lauder, to *ane pairt of the Fuit-band*." There is no notice of such a body in the previous reign. Probably the guard consisted only of foot-soldiers before the present from Henry. In the same year, this body seems to have undergone some remodelling. In the Treasurer's Accounts, there is a payment, 18th March, to Sir John Hamilton, "for gaddering of his fuit-band, and for gaddering of them in the cuntreth" (country). He had an ensign or standard provided for him, and there were 309 footmen in his band. Captain Glen had also an ensign, and there were 102 in his band. A new King's banner was at the same time made. The *wageouris* again occur in a later entry, which seems to bear out the supposition as to their peculiar duties: "*April* 27, 1534.—Item, to

Rothesay herald, delierit letteris to Dunde, Perthe, Sanctandrois, Dunfermeling, &c., to inbring thair cartis for furnesing of *wageouris*," &c.

Henry naturally conceived that the country, though nominally under the Crown, might be ruled by the counsels of England. But the peremptory demands of the Queen for additional supplies, with a hint that, unless complied with, she would find some other support, created suspicion of her sincerity in his mind, which was not lessened by her remonstrance against the contemplated return of her husband, Angus. In her request for a pension and the Order of the Garter for Arran, the footing of intimacy upon which she stood with her favourite could hardly be doubted.[1] But her best friends were disgusted when she became enamoured of the second son of Lord Evandale, Henry Stewart, whom she appointed Treasurer. Amongst others, Lennox and Glencairn left the capital. Arran alone continued to act with the Queen.

Towards the close of 1524, when the disaffected nobles were ripe for another change, Angus, who had been in England for two years, returned to Scotland, bound to the interests of Henry. As early as March 1525, he had a bond of assistance signed by the principal barons of the Border. There were in reality three factions in the country at this period: that of Albany, Arran and the Queen, and

[1] Tytler.

Angus and the English. A reconciliation between Angus and the Queen was attempted, but without effect, while she openly exhibited her favour for the youthful Henry Stewart.

By a union of influences between Angus and Beaton, the Queen and her party were so circumstanced, that she agreed to a political pacification with her husband; and he and the Cardinal became the ruling parties in the state.[1] James, the young King, meanwhile had apartments appointed to him at Holyrood, and the custody of his person was intrusted to certain peers nominated by Parliament, over whom the Queen was to preside. He had previously been kept a short time by his mother, for safety, in the castle. The condition of Scotland, at this juncture, was miserable in the extreme, so active and unscrupulous were the contrivances of faction. In the midst of these political turmoils, it may be remarked, the principles of the Reformation were making such progress that several books of Luther had found their way into Scotland.

A truce for three years having been concluded with England, the power of the State gradually centered in the person of Angus. According to agreement, he and his coadjutors, the Earls of Len-

[1] The Earls of Lennox and Argyle, displeased at all business being transacted in name of the Queen and Arran, received Angus with open arms. They were associated with him as guardians of the King and kingdom.

nox and Argyle, were each to attend three months to business, in the character of guardian. The first turn happened to fall on Angus; and so outrageously selfish was he in the bestowment of ecclesiastical appointments, that Lennox and Argyle seceded from the triumvirate, leaving him sole guardian. The conduct of the Queen, in prosecuting her long-contemplated scheme of divorce, and precipitately marrying her paramour, Henry Stewart, had the effect of strengthening, in place of weakening, his party.

During the Queen-mother's control over the royal household, the revenues of the Crown were so wasted and squandered, that Parliament enacted that "Robert Berton, of Ovirbertoun, comptroller, schew how the expense of the King's household is risen sa gret, that his propertie may nocht beir the samin, and daly apperis to rise gretar, becaus na ordour is put therto be the lordis havand auctoritie of the samin; certifying to the lordis forsaid, that without thai providit sum gud ordour and reule to his household, it is nocht possible that his Grace may be susteinit to his honour as efferis." This minute is dated the *penult* July, 1525. Numerous regulations followed in the same Parliament for managing the royal household. In consequence of these, a separate account-book was commenced, in which the expenses were regularly entered. This record extends from 1525 to 1553. The earliest of the volumes is preserved in the Advocates' Library; that for 1538-9,

is in the hands of the Earl of Aberdeen, while other ten are in the Register House. Extracts have been printed by the Bannatyne Club. It is divided into four distinct heads: 1. The daily sustenance of the household; 2. Spices; 3. Wines; 4. Stables. The record is peculiarly interesting to the student of the culinary art. There were no house-fed animals in those days, as now; so the royal table was supplied in winter with salted beef, veal, lamb, fish (salt and fresh), seals, porpoises, and fowls. It is also of interest, as indicating the whereabouts of the Court at particular periods. The young King seems to have been hurried from place to place, under the pretence of dispensing justice, at a rapid rate. On the 17th August 1525, for example, the "King and Council" were in Peebles and Selkirk, and returned to Edinburgh on the 21st;[1] at Haddington on the 25th, and again back to Edinburgh on the 28th. They were at Stirling on the 12th October, Glasgow on the 14th, "Palace of Enchenzean" (Inchinnan[2]) 15th, Dumbarton 16th, Stirling 2d November, Edinburgh same day, Dalkeith 15th December, Edinburgh 24th (where the King and Council observed the *Nativity*). They also passed the

[1] The Treasurer's accounts have the following entry at this period:—"*Aug.* 25, 1525.—*Item*, For ane horse to bere the Kingis mail (portmanteau) to Peblis, gevin to David Bonar, xx s."

[2] Inchinnan was built by Mathew, Earl of Lennox, in 1506. It is now wholly destroyed.

New-year festivities in the capital. The evening of 1st January 1526, £20 was spent "aftir supper, in mummyn;" and the same day the King expended £31, 4s. in rings "for New-Zeris giftis." They were at Linlithgow on the 17th January, and back to Edinburgh 1st February, where the *Vigil of the Virgin* was kept.

When the King, in April 1526, had completed his fourteenth year, and thus, according to law, his majority as a sovereign commenced, Angus contrived to have the Act of the Three Estates annulled at the time, which left him in the legal guardianship of the King's person. This usurpation he masked by the appointment of a new Secret Council, consisting chiefly of his own friends, the ruling power remaining with himself. In a short time, every office in the State was filled by a Douglas, or a dependent on that house. Even Beaton was compelled to resign the Great Seal in favour of the faction. The power of the Douglas family now assumed such magnitude, as to threaten even the Crown itself. The law became paralysed, and murder and rapine reigned without control. The slaughter of Patrick Blackadder, claimant of the ancient estate of Blackadder, within a short distance of the gates of Edinburgh, by John Home, an inmate of the house of Angus, was a glaring instance of the unscrupulous mode by which the Douglasses sought to aggrandize themselves. Blackadder was

on his way to the city at the time, unarmed, and having a pass and safety guaranteed him by Angus. Even the Church was not held sacred, if it came in the way of a Douglas.

In the midst of this thraldom, the character of James began to develop itself. The Armstrongs, in the summer of 1526, having broken out into some of their customary excesses, Angus conducted an expedition against them, accompanied by the King. James had previously communicated with the Earl of Lennox and the Laird of Buccleuch, a vassal of that house, complaining of the captivity in which he was held, and of the usurpations of his captors everywhere. On the return of the royal cavalcade by Melrose, Walter Scott of Buccleuch, at the head of a thousand men, attempted the release of James, but his followers being chiefly outlaws, their array was speedily broken by the charge of the armed knights belonging to Angus. Eighty of Buccleuch's party were slain, and the chief compelled to retire.

This skirmish occurred on the 25th July 1526. Sir Walter Scott says—"The Homes and Kers, who were at no great distance, returned on hearing the alarm, and coming through the little village of Darnick, set upon Buccleuch's men, and decided the fate of the day. The Border riders fled, but Buccleuch and his followers fought bravely in their retreat, and turning upon the Kers, slew several of them; in particular, Ker of Cessford, a chief of the

name, who was killed by a lance of one of the Elliots, a retainer of Buccleuch. His death occasioned a deadly feud between the clans of Scott and Ker, which lasted for a century, and cost much blood.[1] In the Books of Adjournal this affair is called "the field of Melrose:" "Aug. 9, James Elwald, convicted for treasonably coming, in company with Sir Walter Scott of Branxhelme, knight, and with the traitors and thieves of England and Scotland, against the King and his lieutenant at Melrose; and for common theft and reset of theft—hanged." Several parties were prosecuted for the slaughter of the Laird of Cesfurd, but none of the name of Elliot. Many were amerciated for "abiding from the Raid"—amongst others, John Lord Glammys. Angus and his friends seem to have become more wary in their appropriations after this affair, in which it is probable they suspected the hand of the young King. This is illustrated in a remarkable manner by a letter from the King, in the Privy Seal Register, dated 25th October 1526, by which James binds himself to give Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, treasurer, the whole escheat lands and goods of Lord Lyndsay, then under summons for treason, so soon as doom should be recorded against him. They seem to have been afraid to

[1] "Tales of a Grandfather." Buchanan states that Buccleuch himself was wounded.

trust to the King's generosity, and in this way sought to bind him in their grasping designs.

The feelings of the young King may be conceived when he found his hopes of relief thus blighted: but fate had yet in store for him a still heavier mortification. Soon after Buccleuch's gallant attempt, another was made by Lennox himself. Authorised by letters from the King, he and a number of the western chiefs met at Stirling. The Hamiltons, under Arran, were in favour of Angus, and already in the field. With the view of defeating them before they were joined by the Douglasses. Lennox hurriedly, and without waiting for the whole of his forces, took the road for Edinburgh. At the bridge of Avon, they came up with the Hamiltons, who had possession of the bridge and the rising ground behind. Lennox forded the river, and attacked the enemy, who threw their ranks into some disorder by hurling down large stones; and the Douglasses coming unexpectedly up, his army of ten thousand men were completely routed. Lennox himself was slain in cold blood, after he had surrendered his sword, by Sir James Hamilton, the Bastard of Arran. Buchanan mentions a circumstance, in connection with this rising, which exemplifies the ferocity of the Douglasses, if not of the times. Warned of the approach of Lennox, Angus hasted from Edinburgh with his followers, so as to effect a timely junction with the Hamiltons. The

young King was compelled to accompany the forces; but he was, of course, anxious to thwart the design of his keepers, and, under the pretence of illness, lay longer in bed than usual. The Earl's brother, George Douglas, had the King in charge, and repeatedly urged him to greater speed. On hearing the distant artillery, as they reached Corstorphine, his conductor broke out into passionate abuse: "Sir," said he, "rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold on your body, and, if it be rent in pieces, we will be sure to take one part of it." Buchanan adds, that "those words struck a deeper impression on the King's mind than is usual in one of his age; insomuch that, many years after, when he had some inclination to recall the rest of the Douglasses, at that time exiles, he could not endure to hear anybody speak of reconciliation with George." The King was deeply moved by the death of Lennox, whom he greatly esteemed; and felt much displeased with the Bastard of Arran, by whose murderous hand he was so dishonourably deprived of life. By this second defeat of his friends, the thraldom of James seemed more hopelessly rivetted than ever. Those who had taken part with Lennox were prosecuted for high treason, had their lands confiscated,[1] and divided amongst the Douglasses, who now ruled with unmitigated despotism.

[1] Books of Adjournal.

From the "Household Book" the Court seems at this time to have been nearly as migratory as it was under Arran and the Queen-mother. For instance, the "King and Council" were at Edinburgh 7th May 1526; at Stirling 1st June; again at Edinburgh 6th June; Calder (date not given); Corstorphine 2d July; Edinburgh do.; Melrose 19th July; Jedburgh 20th July;[1] and Edinburgh 28th July. James Colville de Uchiltre was Comptroller, and the total expenditure, from 17th August 1525 to 17th July 1526—eleven months—amounted to, including wines, £1,757, 6s. 4d.

It may well be supposed that, after his removal from the schools at Stirling by the Queen-mother, and while under the thraldom of the Douglas factions, he could make but little progress with his education. The nominal duties of his kingly office, which he was dragged about, at the bidding of his keepers, to perform, and the improper pleasures they encouraged him to indulge in, left little leisure, if inclination, for study. Sir David Lyndsay, the old but then discarded usher of the King, has left a poetical record of the educational course submitted to him:

> "I pray God let me never see ring
> Into this realm so young a king.
> I may not tarry to decide it,
> How then the Court awhile was guidit,

[1] This was during the Border Raid, when the "field of Melrose" occurred.

By them that partly took on hand,
To guide the King and all Scotland;
And as langsome for to declare,
Their facund,[1] flattering words fair:
Sir (some would say) your majesty
Sall now gae to your liberty;
Ye sall to nae man be coacted,
Nor to the school nae mair subjected;
We think them very natural fules
That learn over meikle at the schules!
Sir, ye maun learn to rin a spear,
And guide you like a man of weir;
For we sall put sic men about you,
That all the world and mo sall doubt you.[2]
Then to his grace they put a guard,
Who hastily got their reward:
Ilk man after their quality,
They did solist[3] his majesty;
Some gart him revel at the racket,[4]
Some harled him to the hurly-hacket.[5]
And some to show their courtly courses,
Wald ride to Leith and rin their horses,[6]
And wichtly wallop over the sands,
They neither spared spur nor wands,
Casting gamonds[7] with bends and becks,
For wantonness some brak their necks:
There was nae play but cards and dice,
And aye Sir Flattery bare the price,[8]
Rounding and rouking[9] one to another,
Tak thou my part (quod he) my brother,
And mak betwixt us sicker bands,

[1] Agreeable. [2] Fear you. [3] Solicit.
[4] Play at the racket; perhaps *tennis*.
[5] Sliding down a precipice. This pastime could only, from the nature of the ground, have been enjoyed at Stirling.
[6] This shows the antiquity of horse-racing on the sands of Leith.
[7] Gambols. [8] Prize. [9] Whispering and crouching.

When ought sall vaik[1] among our hands,
That ilk man stand to help his fallow.
* * * * *
Methocht it was a piteous thing,
To see that fair, young, tender King,
To whom thir gallants stood nane aw,
To play with him pluck at the craw.[2]
They became rich, I you assure,
But aye the Prince remainit poor;
There was few of that garrison,
That learnit him a gude lesson."

Such was the species of education pursued while the Queen was nominally at the head of the young King's guardians. It must have been under the control of the Douglasses that the servants of the King invented a rude game, called "Bickering at the Castell," for his amusement. Eggs were the missiles used by the assailants and defenders of the mock fortress; and it may well be conceived what ridiculous figures the combatants presented after a victory or defeat. Various entries in the Treasurer's Accounts, in 1526, attest the existence of this absurd pastime: June 29. "Item, gevin for eggis to bikkir the Castell, xvs. vjd." Again: July 17. "Item, gevin at the Kingis command, till puyre wivis that come gretand apone his grace, for eggis takin fra thame be his servandis, xxs." The game of Tennis, called caitche-pell, was then very fashionable at court. June 29, there was expended "for

[1] Become vacant. [2] To pigeon him, in modern phrase.

ballis in Crummise[1] cache-puyll, quhen the Kingis grace playt with the Lord Glammise, xxs." About the same time, by way of exciting his taste for hunting, there came an appropriate present from his uncle: Oct. 8. "Item, gevin to the Inglisman that brocht blawin hornis (hunting-horns), leschis, and dog collaris, fra the king of Ingland, lx unicornis." The King's establishment included, amongst other worthies, a champion, whose name appears in the following entry: March 1, 1526-7. "Item, to John Drummond, callit the Kingis Kemp (champion), be his precept, xv lib."

After referring to the various attempts made by Buccleuch, Lennox, and others, to relieve the King from the grasp of the Douglasses, the poet adds in triumph:

> "Than raise a reek or ever I wist,
> The whilk gart all their bands brist:
> Than they alane whilk had the guiding,
> They could not keep their feet from sliding:
> But of their lives they had sic dread,
> That they were fain to trot ower Tweed."

The *reek* that arose, and drove the Douglas leaders over the Tweed, it will be our business to describe in the next chapter.

[1] Probably the name of a person, *Crumby's*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KING'S ESCAPE FROM THE DOUGLASSES AT FALKLAND.

JAMES had now attained his sixteenth year, and although his education was neglected during the last four years, yet he had made great progress in what were considered the more manly acquirements of the time. He was, even in his boyhood, extremely handsome in countenance and person; and his mind, in vigour and judgment, kept pace with the development of his physical qualities. In fact, the Douglasses, intent upon their game of ambition and aggrandisement, and probably in the belief that the allurements of those pleasures into which the poet of the Mount so plainly tells us he was studiously led, had deadened in him the desire of independent kingly action, seem to have overlooked the natural shrewdness and mental capacity of the captive youth. He had seen the failure of at least two attempts, blood-dyed attempts, to accomplish his freedom; but this time he resolved to trust to stratagem, and chiefly to his own ingenuity and personal efforts in carrying it out. Without the aid of some one of influence, however, the task would have been difficult, if not wholly impossible.

A willing abettor he found in the able, though ambitious and somewhat unscrupulous Cardinal Beaton, who co-operated with Angus in the government, not because he had any feeling for the Douglasses; but because they were too powerful even for his opposition, and he felt it more conducive to his own views to play double, and draw with them for a time.

The Queen-mother, as already stated, had married Henry Stewart, by which event she sunk greatly in public estimation, and lost nearly all her influence. With her husband she resided at Stirling Castle. The King, probably on the ground of national expediency, persuaded her to exchange her residence for the lands of Methven, to be given with the dignity of peer to her husband. She would, in all likelihood, have seconded the plot of her son, as she could have no possible feeling in favour of Angus, but it was deemed unsafe to intrust her with the secret. The Queen removed from Stirling, the fortress was intrusted to the keeping of a captain upon whose fidelity the King could rely. The next, and perhaps the most difficult step in the plot, was to gain the consent of Angus to the temporary removal of the court from Holyrood to Falkland. It was about midsummer when this proposal was made and acceded to, no doubt on the plea of enjoying hawking and the chase, which the grounds and extensive forest of that royal domain afforded.

It may here be proper to give a brief sketch of the Palace of Falkland. It was one of the ancient Pictish kingdoms, and was called of old the Castle of *Mar*, one of the seats of the Macduffs.[1] Sibbald states, on the authority of the Book of the Priory of St Andrews, now lost, that in the fifth year of David I., (1129), Constantine, Earl of Fife, and *Macbeth, Thane of Falkland*, gathered an army together to prevent Robert de Burgoner from forcing the Culdees of St Andrews to give him the half of the lands of Kirkness, in which they succeeded. When Duncan, sixth Earl of Fife, married Ada, niece of Malcolm IV., *Falkland* was amongst the lands which constituted her dowry. In a contract between Isobel, Countess of Fife, and Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith, acknowledging him as her heir, mention is made of the castle or tower. He was to have the keeping of the *Castle of Falkland* and the forest, with the addition of a constable. The Countess was to have access to the *tower*, and to stay there as long as she pleased, while the village, overagainst the tower, was to be let in tack. The Earl afterwards became Duke of

[1] Jamieson could find no other derivation for the term *Mar* than the Welsh *magwyr*, meaning "what is raised up, a structure, a wall, a building, house." In Gaelic, however, the word *mar* or *mur* signifies a bulwark or stronghold, as well as rampart or breastwork; so that Lyndsay is fully borne out in calling it "the fortress of Fife."

Albany and Regent of Scotland, which he filled in reality for thirty-four years, but nominally from 1406 to 1420. It had then all the honours of a palace, although designed simply "manerium nostrum de Fawkland" in the state-papers bearing his signature. His brother, Robert III., resided chiefly in Bute, and died at Rothsay in 1406. It was at Falkland that David Duke of Rothsay, the young heir to the throne, was cast into a dungeon, and starved to death, in order that his uncle, the Earl, might clear the way for himself or family to the crown. The place of his imprisonment is not known for certainty. Sibbald states that, in the opinion of some, it was an old castle to the north of Falkland, upon the site of which, in his time, "a fair, large house" had been built by the Viscount Stormont. This opinion rests apparently on the notion that the old stronghold of the Thane of Falkland stood on a different site from the palace; but this seems to be erroneous from the terms of the contract between Isobel, Countess of Fife, and the Earl of Menteith, already referred to, which describes "the village as overagainst the tower," which is precisely the case at the present day. Tradition points to the ruins of a tower on the south side of the palace.

The lands and castle of Falkland were annexed to the crown by James I., on the execution of Murdo, Earl of Fife, who succeeded his father, Robert, in

the regency in 1420, and suffered in 1424. It now became one of the royal residences, but it does not seem to have been much frequented by the sovereign till the reign of James V. Only one charter previously bears the date of Falkland, and that is a confirmation by James II., 15th Oct. 1446.

It would be difficult to form a proper idea of Falkland Castle, at the time James became its inmate under the Douglasses, in 1528. An outline, however, may be conceived by attending to the fact, that it was greatly and elegantly improved by the King some years afterwards. As the remains of the palace now stand, first begun, it is supposed, by James II., the site seems to have been a green mound of gentle elevation, with a loch not very deep on the north-east and south-east. This marshy sheet of water was called the *Rose Loch;* and it is yet recollected that wild-ducks have been shot in it. Some round knolls still existing formed little islands in it. It was latterly drained, for the sake of the land. On the north side of the mound, flowing past the gateway, a little stream runs eastward, that must have debouched into the loch. The site of the palace would thus be enclosed by the loch and the rivulet on three sides; while the fourth and front may have been protected by a drawbridge and moat, which could also have been flooded. An immense plain stretches to the east and south, while the north and north-west are bounded at a

short distance by the Lowmond range of hills, under the protection of which Falkland may be said to lie. The hawking-ground, or forest, as it was called of old, would be one of the finest in Scotland. The original castle, perhaps, consisted of a single tower, as expressed in the contract between the Countess of Fife and the Earl of Monteith, which speaks of the castle in one sentence, and of the tower in another, as if they were one and the same building; but it seems just as probable that they were distinct portions of it. The present gateway, facing the north-west corner, is a strong old fabric, probably of the age of James II. It is in the form of two round towers, the passage running between, over which is the main apartment of the building. It bears no date or inscription, like other portions of the palace, and therefore must have been in existence before the time of James V., whose initials, with those of Mary of Guise—thus, "I. R. 1537. M.G."—appear in various places. The lower floors of the towers seem to have been set apart for the wardens, or keepers of the gate. This is evidently the oldest section of the present remains, with the exception of the round tower already mentioned, nearly an entire ruin, at the south-west corner of the mound. From remains of arched apartments on the east, discovered when levelling and improving the garden-ground lately, it is probable that, when occupied by James II., the

castle consisted of two sides of a square, with high and strong walls leading from the tower or gateway on the north-west, to the angles on the south and east—the space between forming the courtyard, and the stables and other necessary buildings running down towards the loch on the east. The present gateway, and the ruined tower at the other angle, would thus have formed the north-west and south-west points of the square.

Such, we opine, would be the Falkland Palace of 1528, when James V. repaired to it. That it was of old-standing, and had probably undergone some repairs previously, appears from the report of Beaton of Creich, who had "the keeping of the Palace of Falkland," to the Scottish Parliament in 1525. He states that it had then fallen into disrepair, being "riven, and the thak yrof brokin." We can hardly fancy that the main structure of the palace was covered with thatch, though portions of it may have been. James was accompanied by his usual court attendants: the Earl of Angus himself, Archibald of Kilspindie, uncle of the Earl, High-Treasurer, and Sir George, his brother, who was Master of the Royal Household, and Douglas of Parkhead, captain of the Royal Guard. One of the views the young King had in residing at Falkland, was to be within easier communication of Cardinal Beaton at St Andrews, because, upon his co-operation everything depended. After enjoying the chase for a few days the much-

longed-for opportunity of attempting his escape arrived. The Douglasses, thrown off their guard by the well-feigned cordiality of the Chancellor (Beaton), began to relax their vigilance over the King. Angus himself had gone to the Lothians on his private affairs; the uncle, Archibald, to Dundee; and Sir George had, on the invitation of the Cardinal, repaired to St Andrews to confer with that dignitary in reference to their mutual estates. No leader of the Douglasses remained at the palace, save Parkhead, captain of the Guard. In these favourable circumstances, the resolution of James was speedily acted upon. Towards evening, he called for Fernie of Wester Fernie,[1] Keeper of Falkland Forest,[2] and Constable of Fife, and gave directions for a hunting-party next morning, ordering him to warn the tenantry, and have the best dogs in readiness. The King then took supper, and, on pretence of going early to bed, dismissed the captain of the Guard, who, without suspicion, left the royal apartment. "When all was quiet in the palace," says Tytler, "James started from his

[1] Not *Balfour*, as Tytler erroneously states. The Balfours did not possess Wester Fernie at that time.

[2] There was a large forest near to Falkland in former times. Lamont, in his Annals of Fife, says—"1652. This yeare the English beganne to cutt downe Fackland wood; the most pairt of the trees were oaks." There are some fine specimens of oak plank, dug up from the mossy land in the vicinity, preserved at the palace.

couch,[1] disguised himself as a yeoman of the Guard, stole to the stables, attended by two faithful servants, and, throwing himself upon a fleet horse, reached Stirling before sun-rise." One of these servants, as related by Pitscottie, and enlarged upon by Scott, was named "Jockie Hart." The gateway of the palace through which the young monarch passed in this disguise, is the tower we have already described. On each side of the passage, the usual guard was, no doubt, on duty; but the garb he had assumed prevented suspicion. The exact route pursued by James cannot be assumed with any degree of certainty; but there is little doubt of the buoyancy of his feelings as he bounded unapproachably away from those proud, stern men, who had so long lorded over his youth.

"On passing Stirling Bridge," continues Tytler, "then secured by a gate and tower, he commanded it to be shut, and kept so at the peril of the warder's life; and then, proceeding to the castle, the Governor, in a tumult of delight to behold his sovereign free, knelt down, and tendered his homage as he presented the keys of the fortress, amid the shouts and rejoicings of the garrison. Worn out with anxiety and travel, James now snatched a

[1] Tytler commits strange mistakes frequently. Farther on, he tells us that the King never had occupied the bed. The contradiction is of little moment. The meaning is, that the King lost no time in carrying out his design as soon as the palace was quiet.

few hours of sleep; and couriers having been despatched in the interval, he awoke to see himself surrounded by his nobles, and felt, for the first time in his life, that he was a free monarch."

This happy flight of the King must have taken place, observes Tytler, about the 22d or 23d of May—not in July, as Pinkerton has it—1528. Had he delayed the attempt till a more advanced hour, it might not have been successful; for Sir George Douglas arrived from St Andrews late in the evening; but so little had suspicion been entertained, that on learning that James had gone to rest, he made no farther inquiry, but retired to his own apartment. Early in the morning, however, the palace was alarmed by a loud knocking. It was Peter Carmichael, the bailie of Abernethy, breathlessly demanding admission. Gaining the apartment of Sir George, he cried, "Have you lately seen the King?" "His Grace," said Douglas, "is yet in bed." "No, no," said Carmichael; "ye are all deceived and betrayed. The King has passed the bridge of Stirling." From this it would appear that the King had fled by Abernethy, and pursued his way to Stirling north of the Ochil hills. The words of the bailie, as recorded by Pitscottie, who probably had them from Sir David Lyndsay, were, "Yea are deceavit; he is along the bridge of Stirling this night." The truth of this was speedily ascertained by Sir George, who, on flying to the royal apart-

ment, found that the King's bed had not been occupied. On the cover lay the vestments he had laid aside for the yeoman's disguise. Douglas was petrified by the discovery, grief and rage having the alternate mastery in his mind. Now rose the cry of treason, and messengers were instantly despatched for the Earl and his uncle, Archibald.

Meanwhile the King called a Council, and proclamation was issued, prohibiting the approach of any follower of the house of Douglas within six miles of the court, under the pain of treason. The meeting of Council was attended by the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Eglinton, and Murray, with the Lords Evandale, Sinclair, Maxwell, and Montgomery.

In an incredibly short space of time, Angus and his uncle, Archibald, reached Falkland, and learning the full extent of the loss sustained, they, together with Sir George, accompanied by a slender retinue, set out for Stirling. Tytler's account of the proceedings of the Douglasses at this crisis is confused, and none of the old historians detail the particulars. They were met on the way, however, by one of the King's heralds, who boldly read the proclamation forbidding their approach. In "The Lives of the Lindsays," by Lord Lindsay, recently published, the herald on this occasion is said to have been Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount; but this is certainly a mistake, for Sir David was not appointed "herald to the King" till 1530. The haughty trio hesitated,

their first impulse being to brave the denunciation; but a little reflection shewed them the danger of incurring treason under the circumstances. "Thus," says Buchanan, "they went back to Linlithgow, resolving to stay there until they heard some clearer news from the court."

CHAPTER V.

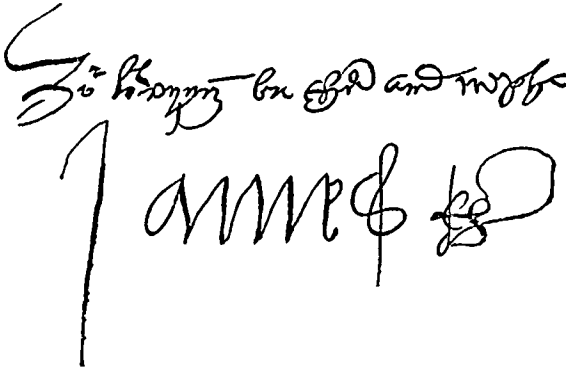
JAMES AS A FREE KING.

It forms no part of our design to enter upon those minute details of national events which properly belong to the historian. But there seems to be an overlook of circumstances at this period by most, or all, of our writers, and we feel compelled to particularise a little. We are told that the King's first step was to proceed to Edinburgh, where a Parliament was summoned to meet on the 3d September. This may have been the case; but his attention was at the same time sensitively directed to the disorganized state of the Borders. In March 1527 (the previous year), letters had been

brought from the Duke of Richmond, who at the same time sent the young King a present of ten couple of hounds, complaining of "the Armestrangis, Crosaris, Nekesonis," and others. In the State Office, London, there is a letter to the Earl of Northumberland, dated Stirling, 19th June 1528, in which James informs him that he has ordered an army to be led against the thieves, rebels, and trespassers of his Borders, and requests him to inform the King of England of his purpose. Again, he writes from Stirling, 23d June, informing Henry VIII. that the raid had been delayed, mentions the ill rule of Angus, and states that a General Council had been summoned to meet on the 10th July. Next, he addresses his royal uncle from Jedburgh, 23d July (1528), thanking him for certain letters, "datit at Wyndessour, the last day of June," and which he received "at oure Abbay of Melross, the xix day of July," and informing him that an insurrection had been attempted against his authority, which his true lieges had suppressed;[1] and that he was now on his way to "put gude ordoure and rewle" upon the Borders. The style, in addressing Henry, is curious. It is "Richt Excellent, richt hie and michty Prince, ouer derrest and best belouit Brother, Cousing, and Uncle," &c. The body of the letter is

[1] This was an attempt, upon the part of the Douglasses, to occupy the capital with their adherents, so as to overrule the deliberations of the Council.

written by his Secretary, but the conclusion and signature is in the hand of the King.[1]



This expedition, of which we have no details, and no entries in the Treasurer's Accounts, is usually confounded by our historians with the more formidable "ryding" which took place in 1530. The success of the raid, however, does not seem to have been satisfactory; nor could it be, so long as Douglass continued to hold Tantallon and other strong places.

In the Parliament which met in September, the Earl of Angus, George his brother, Archibald his

[1] "Yor luvying brother and nepho, James Rex." We have been indebted for this *fac-simile* of the King's hand, and notes of the other letters mentioned, to our intelligent friend, P. H. M'Kerlie, Esq., Admiralty, London.

uncle, and "Alexander Drummond of Carnock, their intimate friend, were outlawed, and their goods confiscated. This edict or clause was also added to their condemnation, that whosoever should harbour them in their houses, or give them any other assistance, should incur the same punishment."[1] They were, of course, deprived of all their offices, and most of their lands divided amongst those lords who had supported the King—Tantallon being annexed to the Crown, as a fortress of too great strength to be in the hands of a subject. But the Douglasses were not easily driven from their stronghold. A raid against Tantallon and other places in their possession was proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh on the 10th September; but it was not till after repeated attempts, that at length Argyle, with the assistance of the Homes, succeeded in driving Angus into exile. Upon one occasion, when attempting to siege Tantallon, the artillery of the King was captured by Angus in person; and Falconer, the captain of the King's guard, having been killed, James vowed that no Douglas should find a resting-place in Scotland so long as he lived.

The Statute-book at this period shews that the attention of the King and Parliament had been earnestly directed towards the internal welfare of the country. The commercial league with the

[1] Buchanan. In the Criminal Records there are numerous instances of prosecutions under this edict.

Netherlands, entered into by James I., being about to expire, Sir John Campbell of Lundy, Knight,[1] and others, including Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, were despatched to Brussels to negotiate a renewal of the treaty for another hundred years. In this they were successful. Sir David Lyndsay's letter from Brussels, giving the Scottish Secretary of State an account of the mission, is preserved in the Cottonian Library.

Amongst the first of the King's free acts, was the appointment of his old preceptor, Gawin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, as his Chancellor. A truce with England, ratified 14th December 1528, enabled James to turn his thoughts more energetically to the internal state of the country.

It was in this year that Lyndsay addressed his "Story of the New" to the King; for, now that James was a free monarch, most of his former personal attendants were recalled to court. The story with which the poet was about to entertain the King, is entitled "The Dream of Sir David Lyndsay." In the "prologue," most of which we have already quoted, he tells how he amused the King in his younger years, according to his capacity for

[1] In the Privy Seal Register there is a "Respitt and sauf-garde" to Campbell, his family, their men and tenants, because he was "no[illegible] to pass in our ambassate and seruice to the partis of [illegible]ria." The letter is dated at St Andrews, 28th October [illegible]o that Pinkerton and others have misdated this transaction.

enjoyment; and now, in his "Dream," as suited to a maturer age, he describes pandemonium, peopled with all kinds of villains from the beginning of the world downwards, among whom kirkmen held rather a prominent place :—

> "Proud and perverse prelates out of number,
> Priors, abbots, and false flattering friers;
> To specifie them all, it were a cumber;
> Regular chanous, churle monks, and charteriers,
> Curious clerks, and priests seculars.
> There was some part of ilk religion,
> In haly kirk, whilk did abusion."

Having described the various regions of hell's "dark dominions," the tutor bard travels through the various planets. Then he explains "the divisions of the earth," which, according to the "cosmographours" of the time, he apportions into three—*Africa*, *Europe*, and *Asia*—America not having then been recognised as so large a portion of the globe as it proved to be. Although first discovered by Cabet in 1497, and by Columbus in 1498, it was for some time considered an island, and called the "new isle." From "Paradise," he comes to Scotland, and, after describing her many capabilities in beastial, fish, fowl, metals, and strong men of great ingine, he asks why it is the country is *so poor?* And he answers—

> "So this is my conclusion final,
> Lacking of justice, policy, and peace."

To another question, why Scotland should lack these

"More than doth France, Italy or England?"

He adds—

"So I conclude, the causes principal,
Of all the trouble of this nation,
Are in the princes, into special,
The whilk have the gubernation,[1]
And of the people domination:
Whose continual exercition[2]
Should be in justice execution."

This is followed by "The Complaint of the Commonwealth of Scotland," whom Lyndsay describes as "a bousteous barne," in ragged raiment, with scrip and staff, making rapid strides in his flight from the country. "John the Commonwealth," as he calls himself, enters into a long enumeration of the wrongs he has sustained, and in hurrying from Scotland declares—

"— there sall no Scot have comforting
Of me, till that I see the country guided
By wisdom of a good and prudent king,
Whilk sall delight him maist above all thing,
To put justice till execution,
And on strong traitors make punition.
As yet I say to thee another thing,
I see richt weel that proverb is richt true,
Wo to the realm that hath oure young a king.
With that he turned his back, and said adieu."

[1] Government. [2] Exercise.

Sir David concludes his "Dream" by tendering excellent advice to his youthful sovereign:

"Take manly courage, and leave insolence,
And use counsel of noble Dame Prudence:
Ground thee firmly on Faith and Fortitude:
Draw to thy Court Justice and Temperance,
And to the Commonwealth have attendance.
* * * * * *
Do equal justice baith to great and small,
And be example to the people all."

We are thus furnished by Sir David Lyndsay with an interesting picture of the early training of the King; and it is peculiarly pleasing to find the old familiar and guardian of his infant years impressing such golden maxims on his hardly yet ripe intellect; and that they were not without their weight is apparent in the subsequent career of the sovereign. And yet the picture would not be complete without the following addenda, from a poem entitled "The Complaint of Sir David Lyndsay," written in 1529, by way of petition to the King for reward in consideration of past services:

"Though I be in mine asking slidder,[1]
I pray thy grace for to consider;
Thou has made baith lords and lairds,
And has given mony rich rewards,
To them that was full far to seek,
When I lay nichtly by thy cheek:
I tak the Queen's grace, thy mother,
My Lord Chancellor, and mony other,

[1] Sluggish.

Thy nurse, and thine old mistress,
I tak them all to bear witness :
Auld *Willie Dillie*, were he on live,
My life full weel he could descrive :
How as a chapman bears his pack,
I bare thy grace upon my back ;
And sometimes, stridlings, on my neck,
Dancing with mony bend and beck :
The first syllabis that thou did mute,
Was *pa-da lyne* upon the lute :
Then playit I twenty springs perqueer,[1]
Whilk was great pleasure for to hear :
Frae play thou let me never rest,
But *Ginkerton*[1] thou lovit aye best.
And aye when thou came frae the scule,
Then I behov'd to play the fule ;
As I, at length, into my *Dream*
My sundry service did expream."

Much of the character of the King, now a free monarch, though only in his seventeenth year, may undoubtedly be traced to the peculiar circumstances of his early years. He was naturally of a courageous, manly disposition, free and generous of heart; and under the guidance of Sir David Lyndsay, and the other poets who were in attendance on his boyish court, he had no doubt imbibed much of that poetical and romantic temperament which displayed itself in various ways both in youth and maturer years. It can, perhaps, be as little questioned, as the poet of the Mount tells us, that the Douglasses neglected his education, and were pur-

[1] Off-hand. [2] A tune now unknown.

posely as assiduous in cultivating his taste for pleasure. But it is by no means to be wondered that the son of James IV. of Scotland, and his queen, Margaret, sister of Henry VIII. of England, should have been constitutionally gallant; nor that, in an age of unbridled license, he should have found ample opportunity of indulging his propensities without even the aid of those who had him in keeping. But this indulgence does not seem to have impaired the natural vigour of his mind, nor his innate goodness of heart and love of justice. On the contrary, the captivity in which he was held by the Douglasses appears to have strengthened his disposition in this respect, and given to his political views a bias and determination which might have been more successful if exercised less resolutely.

He knew how his grandfather, James III., had fallen a victim to his rebellious nobles at Sauchie Burn; and he himself had experienced, under Angus, what might befall him at the hands of a dominant faction. He knew too how his uncle of England had plotted for the thraldom of the kingdom. In 1522, the Emperor of Germany visited England, and prevailed on Henry to wage war against both France and Scotland, in consequence of which agreement all Frenchmen and Scotsmen in England at the time were ordered out of it. Under such circumstances, therefore, it is not surprising that he should have conceived it necessary

to guard against the Reformation or English party. It seemed, in short, to be a settled conviction with him, imbibed probably while yet a boy at school, that England was always on the watch to assert her superiority over Scotland, and this conviction haunted his imagination even in his last moments. The youthful sovereign had thus, as Tytler has well remarked, three leading objects to accomplish in ruling the country; and these were—to abridge the power of the nobles, regain the influence of the Crown, and checkmate the intrigues of his uncle. It may be said that he had a fourth object, of scarcely less paramount importance, and that was to replenish his wholly empty exchequer. Lyndsay tells us how the Douglas courtiers played "with him pluck at the craw;" and Buchanan says, in reference to his alleged covetousness of money, that "when he was under the guardianship of others, he was educated with great parsimony; and, as soon as ever he came to be of age, he entered into an empty palace, where he found that all his household stuff had been embezzled; so that every room of his palace was to be new-furnished at once, and his guardians had expended the royal revenue on those uses which he wholly disapproved." We have seen, from an act of parliament in 1525, that the expenditure under the guardianship of the Queen and Arran had been so great that the Crown

revenues could not support it, so that the statement of Buchanan can hardly be questioned.

France, by the league she had just formed with England, for the purpose of humbling Charles V., was not in a position to aid the Scottish monarch. He had consequently to rely wholly on his own resources and prudence. The only mode of checking the arrogance of the barons was by strengthening the hands of the people; and in pursuing this policy he may be said to have been amongst the first of those social reformers in this country who saw the necessity of elevating the lower orders, so that there might be national prosperity and peace. In order to effect this, he laboured unfaggingly to promote the administration of justice; and he encouraged the free approach of all classes of his subjects, so as to become acquainted with their grievances. In this way he earned for himself the proud title of "the King of the Commons."

A glance at the domestic account-book of the Court, quoted in a former chapter, will shew with what rapidity he travelled from place to place. On the 19th August 1528, scarcely three months after his escape from the Douglasses, he was at Camesmor; on the 22d, at Stirling and Falkland; 26th, at Perth; 28th, at Stirling and Linlithgow; 29th, at Edinburgh; 11th September, at Lanark; 18th, at Edinburgh and Linlithgow; 23d, at Stirling and Falkland; 30th, at Stirling and Edinburgh; 1st

October, at Haddington; 4th, at Dunbar and Edinburgh; 11th, at Stirling; 17th, at Linlithgow; 18th, at Edinburgh; 23d, at North Berwick; 18th November, at Stirling; 30th, at Edinburgh, where he remained till the spring of next year. Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling seem to have been at this time, and perhaps always, the principal residences of the Court, although Falkland afterwards became a favourite seat.

Buchanan says that, in order to put down the bands of lawless banditti that had overspread the country during his minority, "he would often sit on horseback, night and day, in the coldest winter, that so he might catch the thieves in their harbours at unawares, and his activity struck such a terror into them, that they abstained from their evil purposes, as if he had always been amongst them." In the administration of justice, James was accounted just, though sometimes severe. The most notable instance of this was his raid to the Border in 1530. He was then young, only eighteen years of age, and had been provoked by the continued excesses of some of those very parties he had endeavoured to repress in 1528. The disorders that disturbed the south country, sprung chiefly from the influence and connections of Angus, and could only be put down by strong measures. Calling a parliament, and explaining his views, some of the principal offenders were arrested, and thrown into prison. Amongst

these were Bothwell, Maxwell, Home, Ker of Fernyhurst, Mark Ker, Buccleuch, Polwart and Johnston, and a great many other Border barons and lairds. On the pretence of a great hunting expedition, a force of eight thousand men was collected, at the head of which the King advanced southwards.

The Treasurer's Accounts shew that he had made considerable preparation for this expedition: "June 26, 1530. Item, deliverit to David Bonar, for the Kingis grace, thre letacampt[1] beddis, ane in Striveling, ane in Edinburghe, the thrid in the wardrop of Edinburghe, be Johnne Drummond, price xx lib." The King always carried one of these in his hunting or warlike expeditions. "July 21. Item, for tua lang malis, with tua lang braissis[2] to thame, to cary the Kingis leitacampt and stule to the oist, of sundry prices, iij lib. xiiij s." This was to convey the camp-bed and stool to the host, or gathering. The King also purchased a steel-bonnet, price x s., at the same time. Many other entries attest the nature of the undertaking.

Traversing the disturbed localities with this force, he seized William Cockburn of Henderland, who, it is said, had prepared a feast for him, and Adam Scott of Tushylaw, styled King of the Thieves; but they were not, as historians tell us, "hung almost

[1] Lit-du-camp.

[2] The meaning of the word *malis* is nowhere given; but it probably meant poles, with braces.

before their own doors." They were taken to Edinburgh, where they were beheaded. Cockburne was convicted, in presence of the King, of high treason (bringing in Englishmen and plundering), on the 16th May; and Scot, for levying black-mail, on the 18th. Both parties had been instructed to find pledges for their good conduct so far back as 19th November 1527. It was upon this occasion that the famous "Johnnie Armstrong," with thirty-six (Tytler says forty-eight) of his followers, were hanged on a clump of trees in a little hollow, where they presented themselves with the view of soliciting the royal pardon. Armstrong was renowned for his daring as a freebooter, and had levied tribute or black-mail for many miles within the English borders. According to the ballad, founded on the event, his men were so superbly attired as to throw the King's attendants wholly in the shade. "What wants this knave," said the King, as he ordered them for execution, "that a king might have?"

"When Johnnie came before the King
Wi' a' his men sae brave to see,
The King he movit his bonnet[1] to him,
He ween'd he was a king as well as he.

'May I find grace, my sovereign leige,
Grace for my loyal men and me,
For my name it is Johnnie Armstrong,
And subject of yours, my leige,' said he.

1 The steel bonnet, no doubt, mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts.

'Away, away, thou traitor strang!
Out of my sight soon may'st thou be!
I grantit never a traitor's life,
And now I'll not begin with thee!'"

Johnnie pled his case at some length, and very ingeniously, according to the ballad, promising mills and lands and loyal service to the King, but all in vain.

"'To seik hot water beneith cauld ice,
Surely it is a greit folie—
I have asked grace at a graceless face,
But there is nane for my men and me.'

John wore a girdle about his middle,
Imbroidered ower wi' burning gold;
Bespangled wi' the same metal,
Maist beautiful was to behold.

There hang nine targats[1] at Johnnie's hat,
And ilk ane worth three hundred pound:
'What wants that knave that a king suld have,
But the sword of honour and the crown?'

'O whair gat thou these targats, Johnnie,
That blink sae brawly abone thy brie?'
'I gat them in the field fechting,
Where, cruel King, thou durst not be.

'Had I my horse and harness guid,
And riding as I wont to be,
It suld have been tald this hundred yeir,
The meeting of my king and me.

Farewell! my bonny Gilnock-hall,[2]
Where on Esko side thou standest stout!

[1] Tassels. [2] He was John Armstrong of Gilnockie.

Gif I had lived but seven years mair,
I wad hae gilt thee round about.'

John murdered was at Carlinrigg,
And all his gallant companie;
But Scotland's heart was ne'er sae wae,
To see sae mony brave men die." [1]

It would appear from contemporary writers, that the ballad is substantially correct. Johnnie Armstrong, whose company were unarmed, was entrapped by the royal troops. A less sanguinary expiation might have served the purposes of justice in this instance: yet something may be said in palliation, because of the King's youth, the lessons of *fortitude* inculcated by the poet of the Mount, and the conduct of Angus and his followers. As in all cases of excess of punishment, even where the crime is great, the execution of John Armstrong had well-nigh destroyed the rising popularity of the young monarch; but the rule of the Douglasses being remembered, the public were fain to regard it as a prestige of future protection. Pitscottie says—"thereafter was great peace and rest a long time, wherethrough the King had great profit, for he had ten thousand sheep going in the Ettrick forest in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the King as good count of them as they had gone in the bounds of Fife." It is probable that James was not made

[1] Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.

aware of the real motive of Armstrong in seeking his presence with so large and showy a following.[1]

The Border barons whom the King had imprisoned were soon set at liberty; and Buchanan tells us that "Walter Scot, to gratify the King, killed Robert Johnston, a robber of notorious cruelty amongst them, which bred a deadly feud between the two families, to the great loss and prejudice of them both."

The success of James on the Border was followed by threats of rebellion in Orkney. The Earl of Caithness endeavoured to throw off his allegiance; but not being supported by the natives, he was slain in a naval encounter by the Governor. This attempt was followed by another, on the part of the Isles; but by a just policy, and the presence of a considerable force, the royal authority was speedily re-established. This occurred, as we learn from the Treasurer's Accounts, towards the close of the same year:—"Dec. 18, 1530. To Adam Stewart, messenger, to pass to Renfrew, Kyle, and Cunynghame, &c., to warn for the army and passage to the Islis, xxv s."

These commotions in the Isles may have been partly owing to an Act of the Privy Council, in

[1] Robert Lord Maxwell had a gift from the King of all the goods and geir that belonged to Armstrong, "throw justifying (executing) of the said vmquhile Johnne to the deid for thift." The letter was dated "at Preistishauche," 8th July 1530, and signed by the King and his treasurer.

1528, soon after the King's escape from the Douglasses, by which all grants made them during the King's minority were declared void and null—"because it is understood by the King, that the said lands, or the most part thereof, are his own proper lands, or in his hands, through forfeiture, escheit, or non-entries." The conduct of Colin, Earl of Argyle, as Lieutenant of the Isles, began to be suspected as early as 1529, when the King sought for information through a different source; and in 1531 he was thrown into prison. He was soon liberated, however, and summoned before the Council to give an account of the trust reposed in him. By way of throwing discredit upon Alexander Macdonald of Isla, whom he regarded as a rival in the good graces of the Sovereign, Argyle caused him to be summoned before the Privy Council upon heavy charges of misconduct. Contrary to his expectation, Macdonald appeared, but he himself did not. Macdonald, after vindicating himself in every particular, drew up a written statement criminating Argyle, in which he shewed that the King's Lieutenant had been guilty of the basest practices, by intriguing and fomenting feuds amongst the Islesmen, that he might step in with his authority for the advancement of his own interest. Indeed, the propensity of the Argyle family in acquiring property and feudal power in the West Highlands, passed into a proverb; and they are still known as "the greedy

Campbells." The King was so dissatisfied with Argyle's examination, that he ordered him to prison, and, although soon liberated, he was deprived of all his offices in the Isles, some of which were bestowed on Alexander of Isla, and some on MacIan of Ardnamurchan. Nor did Campbell regain his position during the life of James. About the same time, the Earl of Crawfurd lost his estates in the Lowlands as well as the Hebrides;[1] and the Earl of Murray, Lord Maxwell, and Sir James Hamilton were regarded with suspicion.

As the nobility were thus pressed down, in conformity with the policy of the King, their places in the Government were supplied from the ranks of the clergy, then almost the only persons of education sufficient to hold offices of importance.

Lord Lindsay, in his recent very acceptable work, "The Lives of the Lindsays," has occasion to speak highly of the extraordinary vigilance exercised by James about this period:—"At home," says his lordship, "he adopted the most vigorous measures for putting a stop to the disorders of the realm. His eye was everywhere; and an instance of his vigilance in the cause of right occurred the very year after his emancipation from the Douglasses.

[1] The charges against Crawfurd, like those against Argyle, are not extant. That he was justly deprived of his property, is to be inferred from the strict sense of justice entertained by the King at this period.

Walter Lindsay, younger of Edzell, who fell at Flodden, had been the only son and heir-apparent of Sir David of Beaufort and Edzell, son of Walter, the 'tutor' to Earl David, afterwards Duke of Montrose. Walter left a young wife and four sons, David, afterwards ninth Earl of Crawfurd, the eldest; Alexander, John, and Robert of Kirkton. . . . . Their grandfather, Sir David, Walter's father, married again, and had a second and younger son, Alexander, ancestor of the Lindsays of Vane and Kettrick, in Angus. Falling into dotage, and influenced possibly by his young spouse, Sir David attempted to alter the succession, and convey his estates to the young Alexander, in exclusion of the children of Walter; but King James interfered, and prevented what 'mycht nocht,' to use his own words, 'stand in gude conscience, Walter's son being rychteous heritour,' and 'we,' adds the King, 'havand in mynd to help and favour thame that dyd gude service to our maist noble father' in the field of Flodden."[1]

This is a pleasing anecdote of the watchfulness, justice, and gratitude of the young King, then in his seventeenth year. What Lord Lindsay farther says, in reference to less worthy phases in the King's character, we shall notice in due course.

It must have often occurred to the King, in the course of his vigilance for the administration of

[1] Mandate by James V., Feb. 1531-2.

justice, that too much authority rested with the barons, who had the adjudging of the law in civil as well as criminal cases; the power, as it is called in law-phrase, of "pit and gallows;" and from their tribunal there was no appeal, save to the King and Council—a course only within the means of the wealthy. In so far, therefore, as the bulk of the people were concerned, the power of the barons was irresponsible. James I., James IV., and the young King himself, often undertook long journeys—sometimes riding a hundred miles at a stretch—to be unexpectedly present at a baron's court, to see that the law was properly administered. Under such a system, it is apparent, there could be no guarantee against the most tyrannical oppression. Indeed, in James V.'s time, the peasantry were regarded as little better than serfs; and the burghers in towns were equally liable to be trampled upon by the magistrates, who were a different species of feudal lords in their own sphere. The institution of the College of Justice (somewhat after a Parisian model), which occurred on the 17th May 1532, was, under the circumstances, a notable expedient for mitigating the evils of the baronial courts, and must be regarded as a bright and perpetual memorial of that love of abstract justice which was one of the inherent virtues of its royal founder. It was open to all comers, either in the shape of appeal, or as questions of law and right, and has since

exercised a happy influence on the social and commercial condition of Scotland. According to Buchanan, who was by no means favourable to the institution, it originated in the want of set times and places for the judges trying pecuniary causes. John, Duke of Albany, obtained the sanction of the Pope that a yearly sum for this purpose—as much as pay a few judges—should be charged on the ecclesiastical order, levied on every one according to the value of their benefice. Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, for himself and other ecclesiastics, appealed against this mandate of the Pope. "The controversy," says Buchanan, "held from the 11th of March to the 24th of April, and then there was a college of judges settled at Edinburgh.[1] At their first sittings, they devised many advantageous projects for the equal distribution of justice; yet the hoped-for end did not follow. For, seeing in Scotland there are almost no laws, but decrees of the estates, and many of them, too, made not for perpetuity, but temporary, and the judges hinder the enacting of laws what they can; the estates of all the subjects were committed to the determination of fifteen men, who were to have a perpetual power, and even a tyrannical government; *for their wills were their laws.*" Such was the view entertained by Buchanan, who looked upon the institution

[1] The true date of the institution has already been given.

through a Lutheran medium; and no doubt it was by no means well managed in its earlier stages; but had speedily the effect intended, of taking much of the power out of the hands of the nobility.

The King's letter as to "the order of Justice Courts," dated 16th January 1533, shews how anxious he was as to the expeditious and proper administration of justice. It is addressed to the Justice and Justice-Clerk, and ordained to be recorded. By this letter the Judges were forbidden to make continuations of their courts, nor stop nor hinder them, nor discharge sureties, which had led to great abuse, without the advice and consent of the Treasurer.[1]

The only drawback to the King's reliance upon the clergy rather than the nobles, was the obligation under which it laid him of abiding by the old faith rather than that of the Reformation, so zealously supported by his uncle for selfish ends.

James displayed great wisdom in managing the national affairs at this time, considering the critical circumstances of his position. Peace prevailing on the continent, Henry was more at liberty to renew his intrigues against Scotland, while Angus, Argyle, Crawfurd, and Hamilton, were ready to join in any undertaking for the subversion of their native country, so that they might relieve their "hart and

[1] See Pitcairn's Trials.

stomach against the 'Skottis King."[1] Numerous inroads were consequently made across the Border by the exiled Angus and others in the pay of Henry. At length James fell upon the plan of dividing the whole fighting-men of the kingdom into four divisions, to each of which in rotation was intrusted the defence of the marches, under the Earl of Murray, lieutenant of the kingdom. This measure was attended with the best effects; for, as Buchanan tells us, "these forces succeeding one another by turns, made great havock in the towns and castles of those parts, so that the king of England was frustrated in his expectation." He at the same time played Henry after his own fashion, by despatching Alexander of Isla to the north of Ireland, at the head of seven or eight thousand men, to aid the disaffected Irish. According to Northumberland's letter to Henry, 3d Sept. 1532, Isla committed great devastation in Ulster. At length, on the interference of Francis I., much to the satisfaction of Henry, a truce was agreed upon between England and Scotland.

The King now, 1533, resolved upon making a summer progress through his dominions. We have no account of this progress beyond what Pitscottie relates as to the splendid reception given to him by the Earl of Athole:

[1] Letters by the Earl of Northumberland to Henry, 27th Dec. 1531, quoted by Tytler.

"Upon the next summer thereafter, the King, together with his mother, and an ambassador of the Pope's, who was in Scotland for the time, went all together to Athole to the hunting. The Earl of Athole, hearing of his coming, made great and gorgeous provision for him in all things pertaining to a prince, that he was as weel eased in all things as if he had been in ane of his awn palaces. For this noble Earl of Athole caused make a curious palace to the King, his mother, and the ambassador, whereby they were as weel eased as if they had been in any palace either of Scotland or England, and equivalent for the time of their hunting; whilk was biggit in the middle of a green meadow, and the walls thereof were of green timber, woven with barks, and biggit in four quarters, as if it had been a palace; and in every quarter a round like a block-house, whilks were lofted and joisted three house heicht; the floor was laid with green earth, and strewed with sic floures as grew in the meadow, that no man knew whereon he gaed, but as he had been in a green garden. Farther, there was two great rounds on every side of the yett, and a great porteullis of tree falling down as it had been a barrass yett, with a great drawbridge, and a fosse of sixteen feet deep and threttie feet broad of water. This palace was hung with fine tapestrie within, and weel lighted in all necessary parts with glass windows.

"The King was very weel entertained in this wilderness the space of three days, with all sic delicious and sumptuous meats as were to be had in Scotland, for fleshes, fishes, and all kinds of fine wine, and spices, requisite for a prince. Farther, there were no fishes that could live in fresh waters, but were there, swimming in the fosse about the palace. It is said, by the space of thir three days that his grace was there, the Earl of Athole was every day a thousand pounds of expenses. This Pope's ambassador, seeing so great a triumph in a wilderness, where there was no town near by twenty miles, he thought it a great marvel that sic a thing should be in Scotland: that is so court-like and delicious entertainment in the Highlands of Scotland, where he saw nothing but woods and wilderness. But most of all, this ambassador, when the King was coming back from the hunting, marvelled to see the Highlanders set all this palace on fire, that the King and the ambassador might see it. Then the ambassador said to the King, 'I marvel, Sir, ye let burn yon palace wherein we were so well eased.' The King answered, 'It is the use of our Highlandmen, that be they never so weel lodged all the night, they will burn the same on the morn.' This being done, the King returned to Dunkeld that night, and on the morn to St Johnston. It is said, at this time, in Athole and Stratherdale bounds, there were slain threttie score of hart and hind,

with other small beasts, sic as roe and roebuck, wolf, fox, and wild-cats, &c."

This must have been a scene after the King's own heart—quite a thing of fairy-land. The sylvan palace seems to have been a square building, with turrets, and the gateway had two round towers which commanded the drawbridge. The idea of such an erection probably originated in the fact that the ducal house of Athole had at that time no mansion at Blair-Athole, Dunkeld being the principal residence of the family. At so great a distance, the royal party must have otherwise been accommodated in pavilions. Sir Walter Scott, in relating this passage in his "Tales of a Grandfather," says that James "was very fond of hunting, and, when he pursued that amusement in the Highlands, he used to wear the peculiar dress of that country, having a long and wide Highland shirt, and a jacket of tartan-velvet, with plaid, hose, and everything else corresponding. The accounts for these are in the books of his Chamberlain, still preserved." The only reference to the hunting in Athole is as follows: 'Sept. 5, 1533. Item, to David Creichtoune, of the gardrobe, to fie tua careage horsis to turse the Kingis bed and vther graithe to the hunting in Atholl, and for the space of vij dais thair to remane; to ilk horse on the day ij s.; summa, xxviij s."

Although the King is said by Pitscottie to have returned from Athole to Perth, it would appear

that he had continued his tour westerly. At least the Treasurer's Accounts shew that he was in Argyleshire: "Sept. 15. Item, to Jame Littlejehnis servand to pass with butis and schoone to the Kingis grace, in Ergile, xx s." "Sept. 18. Item, for ane lute, with the caise, and ane dosane of stringis by (besides), coft in Glasgow, and send with Troilus[1] to the Kingis grace in Inverrera, xl s." Also, "Sept. 27. Item, for cariage of the Kingis bed to the hunting in Glenorknay; and for cariage of the samyn out of Edinburgh to Sanct Androse to the Pardoun, xx s." It would appear that James had been absent in the West Highlands for a month: "Sept 3, 1534. Item, payt in Glesgow to xiiij men quhilk war left with the schip *to bring the King out of Argile*, for ane monethis wagis, begynnand the said thrid day of September, xxviij lib." The King, for state purposes chiefly, seems to have kept up a pretty constant correspondence with the Western Highlands and Isles. He had the eldest son of Alexander of Isla at Court, under the educational charge of William Henderson, Dean of Holyrood;[2] and he was no doubt anxious to see that the lieutenancy of the Isles was properly conducted.

The satisfaction of the tour was enhanced next year by a farther understanding with Henry as to his harbouring Angus. It was agreed that if the

[1] One of the King's domestics. [2] Treasurer's Accounts.

latter gave up the fortalice of Edgreton, he and his adherents might live unmolested in England as Henry's subjects, provided reparation were made for any damage they might commit in Scotland. This treaty was negotiated chiefly by "Maister Adam Otterburne," the King's advocate, who remained in London from the 26th Nov. 1533 till 3d June 1534, at an expense of £600. It was dated 12th May of that year. Soon afterwards, the King had the Order of the Garter from England,[1] that of St Michael from France, and the Golden Fleece from Charles V. The Treasurer's Accounts shew that in July 3, 1534, there was given to the Archdean of Durham, the English ambassador, who came for confirmation of the peace, a hundred angel nobles, value £155 Scots, for his reward; and that the Abbot of Kinloss went to London to receive the King of England's oath to the treaty.

Throughout nearly the entire career of the King, his watchfulness over the course of justice forms a marked feature of his reign, while he was ever ready of access to the complaints of the poorest of his subjects. The deforcing of messengers was not an uncommon occurrence in so strong-handed an age. In 1531, the Prior and Convent of Pitten-

[1] Lord Erskine had his "superexpensis, the tyme he was in Ingland, for stallacioune of the Kingis grace in the Ordour of the Gartene, paid on the 13th July 1537." The presentation, however, must have taken place some time before this.

weem, amongst others, were charged with this crime. But while the officers of the law were protected to the utmost, they were equally severely dealt with if they overstepped their duty, or were found ignorant, or guilty, of illegal practices.

Of the King's "eye being everywhere," as expressed by Lord Lindsay, the following letter to his Councillors, quoted from the original by Pitcairn, affords additional evidence:

"Rex,

"Traist (trusty) Counsellors, me greet you weil, and hes received your writings anent the Laird of Scraling; and thinks your advise and counsel best, anent the publishing of dome against him. Where ye mention of ane minute sent, we have seen nane. Therefore, we pray you, that ye tak that travel to pass to him and declare how it stands, sua that his life and guids are in our hands. Gif he comes in will, we will be gracious to him; failing thereof (we) shall cause justice be kept: and thereafter that ye write to us his answer, as ye will do us singular pleasure. Given at Craufurdjohn, the 29th March 1536.

"JAMES R.

"To our traist Counsellors, our Comptroller, and Thome Scot."

This Lanarkshire laird had been guilty of abstracting a box of evidents from Edinburgh, pertaining to Crichton of Newhall, and of violent occupation of the lands of Kirkinghill, belonging to Crichton.

Of the sincerity of the King's desire to protect the people from the violence of the barons, and that they should enjoy the full and true liberty of citizens, no better instance could be referred to

than his letter of the 30th September 1537, addressed to the magistrates and council of Aberdeen. He was at the time attending a justice aire in Old Aberdeen.[1] The burghers had been greatly annoyed in 1530, and subsequently, in resisting the inroads of the Forbeses, and other barons at feud with one another, and who claimed a species of superiority or guardianship over the city. In this letter the King gave them full permission to elect such qualified persons as they chose for the offices in the Council, *with common consent*, as the practice had been; adding, "and that are able to minister in the offices, by doing of justice and virtuous using of your common good, and as will assure therefor;[2] for we will ye live in liberty and freedom, like burgess men, but (without) overthrowing of outmen or *great persons*, keeping this for your warrant."

On the 21st March 1538, John Tweedy, in Linton, was "convicted of art and part of the treasonable assistance given to James Douglas of Parkhead" (Captain of the King's Guard when the latter escaped from Falkland), and placed in ward in Edinburgh Castle. His wife, Janet Pollok, submitted the following supplication to the King:

"Sovereign Lord, unto your gracious highness menis (laments) and heavily complains and shews, I, your grace's servitrix, Jonet Pollok, spouse of John Tweedy, in Linton, that where my sad spouse is heavily troubled in your grace's ward, in the Castle of

[1] Kennedy's "Annals of Aberdeen." [2] Give a guarantee.

Edinburgh, for causes that he is innocent of, as, will God, shall be clearly understand to your grace; and he is straitly kept in prison, and is daily at great expenses, and I have na earthly guids to give him, but it (what) I beg at friends: and lately, my Lord of Morton has put me furth of my mailing (small farm), that should have sustained my sad spouse and me, and our ten bairns. Herefore, I bespeak your lordship's noble grace to have ruth and pity of my sad spouse, and give command to the captain to keep him in free ward, he finding sicker surety that he shall not escape nor eschew your grace's ward; and I and my ten bairns shall pray daily for prosperity of your noble grace, both in soul and body, for our lifetimes. And your gracious answer humbly I beseek, for the reward of God. (Indorsed.) Apud Ed. primo Augusti, anno JmVc.xxxviij. The King's grace ordains the Justice-Clerk to receive surety of this complainer, under great pains; whilk surety being found, ordains the captain to put him to free ward within the Castle.

"JAMES R."

Surety to the amount of one thousand pounds (Scots) having been found, the King gave warrant to put Tweedy to liberty. The warrant was subscribed at Linlithgow, 2d Feb. 1539.

There are numerous other instances of the King's leniency, yet proper attention to the purity of the courts. On the 23d May 1539, James Reid, in Helar, was tried and convicted of the murder of John Reid of Turnberry, in Ayrshire. Before trial he complained that the Sheriff Principal of Ayr was a friend to the deceased, and that he was not likely to have a fair trial. The King instantly commanded the Justice, Treasurer, and Justice-clerk, by whom he was to be tried in Edinburgh, that if this statement was correct, they should

postpone the trial for twenty or thirty days, until an unsuspected assize should be got. The letter is dated at St Andrews, 12th May 1538. This was during the festivities, consequent on his marriage with Mary of Guise.

CHAPTER VI.

JAMES, A POET AND PATRON OF LITERATURE.

THAT James V. was a poet, we are assured not only by tradition, but by the written testimony of at least two contemporaries who had positive knowledge of the fact. Surrounded as he was in his boyish years by the best poets of the day, it is not at all wonderful that the royal pupil should have caught a spark of their inspiration. Sir David Lyndsay, the earliest of all his attendants, speaks of him as "the prince of poetry;" and Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, another of the royal pages, thus apostrophises the King in the prologue to his translation of Livy, executed by order of James:—

"And ye, my sovereign by line continuall,
Ay cum of kings your progenitors,

And writes in ornate style poetical,
Which flowing verse of rhetoric colours,
Sae freshly spring, and in your lusty flours,
To the great comfort of all true Scotsmen,
Be now my muse and leader of my pen."

We have thus positive evidence that the King was not only a poet of "ornate style," but that his poetry was so well known as to be "the great comfort of all true Scotsmen." And this is confirmed by Drummond of Hawthornden, who wrote a century later. In his History of Scotland, he says—"James V. was naturally given to poesie, *as many of his works yet extant testifie.*"

It can hardly be supposed that James possessed the ability to indulge, to any extent, in the poetic humour ascribed to him prior to his escape from the Douglasses, in 1528, when he was in his seventeenth year. The truce with England which ensued soon afterwards, left him leisure to pursue his own bent, when the cares consequent on the government and improvement of a distracted country permitted him to follow the diversions agreeable to his still youthful years. Between the years 1528 and 1537, may be considered the more poetical and romantic period of the monarch's life.

Immediately after his happy release from the Douglas faction, he appears to have gathered his old friends around him. Gavin Dunbar, who was made his Chancellor; David Lyndsay of the Mount,

who enjoyed a pension, and became Lyon-King-of Arms; John Bellenden and William Stewart, who were employed in various literary pursuits, portions of which have come down to our own times;—all of these, with the exception of Dunbar, perhaps, were celebrated for their skill as poets in the vernacular, which James seems to have loved himself, and did much, by the translations in which he occupied the pens of Bellenden and Stewart, to cultivate.

It is said, upon the authority of a Cambridge tradition, that the Queen-mother, in order to facilitate the young Prince's study of Scottish history, caused a poetical translation to be made of Boece's "Croniclis of Scotland." An edition of this elaborate work, as one of the series of publications illustrative of British history, was printed by authority of Government in 1858. It extends to three massive octavo volumes, edited by W. B. Turnbull, Esq., formerly of the Scottish bar. The original MS. is in possession of the University of Cambridge. It had, from an inscription upon it, belonged at one time to Hew Crawfurd of Cloberhill (Renfrewshire), thereafter to Bishop Moore, with the rest of whose MSS. it passed from the hands of George I. to the University. Mr Turnbull repeats the University tradition in his preface, and thinks it borne out by the prologue; but the statement is more than doubtful. The work was not begun, as the trans-

lator tells us, till the 18th April 1531, and not finished till the 29th September 1535; consequently this was long after the King had been taken from the schools, and nearly five years after his escape from the Douglasses. He was then acting as a free monarch, his mother having no control either over him or the state. He would be in his twenty-first year when the translation was begun, and twenty-sixth when finished. It is probable—indeed Buchanan tells us so—that the classical education of the young monarch, owing to the disturbances of the times, was not so profound as it should have been, and that he not only desired a translation for his own use, but for the use of the people. He had been accustomed to the vernacular of Lyndsay, Bellenden, Stewart, and others; and it seems evident that James, when he came to mature years, felt desirous of cultivating the language of the people rather than of the priesthood. And with this view he gave command to William Stewart to execute a poetical translation of Boece's history, and to John Bellenden to go on, at the same time, with a prose version. Payments to these parties appear repeatedly in the Treasurer's Accounts. Bellenden's work was printed by order of the King, in 1540; that of Stewart never was published until edited by Mr Turnbull in 1858.

Archbishop Bellenden is well known; but Stewart, possibly because his work remained in MS., is

not so familiar to the public. Sir David Lyndsay, in his prologue to "The Complaint of the Papingo," after enumerating the poets of former times, Kennedy, Dunbar, &c., mentions the more eminent of his Court contemporaries:—

"And in the Court been present, in thir days,
That ballads brieves lustily, and lays,
Whilk till our Prince dayly they do present.
Wha can say mair than Sir James Inglis says,
In ballads, farces, and in pleasant plays?
But Culross hath his pen made impotent,[1]
Kid, in cunning[2] and practik[3] richt prudent;
And Steward, wha desireth ane stately style,
Full ornate warks daily does compile.

Stewart of Lorn will carp richt curiously;
Galbraith, Kinloch, when they list them apply
Into that art, are crafty of ingine:[4]
But, now of late, is start up hastily,
Ane cunning Clark, wha writeth craftily,
Ane plant of poets, callit Ballendyne,[5]
Whose ornate warks my wit can not define;
Get he into the court auctoritie,[6]
He will precell[7] Quintin and Kennedie."

[1] He was promoted to the Abbacy of Culross, but did not long enjoy the abbotship. He was set upon and slain by the Laird of Tullyallan, John Blackadder, and a party, among whom was Sir William Lothian, a priest, who had been the chief instigator of the slaughter. The deed was committed on the 1st March 1530. The priest was degraded from his office, on a public scaffold in Edinburgh, in presence of the King and the Queen-mother; and he and Tullyallan were both tried, condemned, and beheaded on the 28th of the same month.

[2] Knowledge. [3] Art, profession. [4] Genius.
[5] He was Archdeacon of Moray. [6] Authority. [7] Excel.

These were the Court poets, besides Lyndsay himself, in 1530, when the *Complaint* was written. But we have another account of them in Rolland's "Seven Sages," written in 1560:

> "In court at that time was gude David Lyndsay,
> In vulgar tongue he bare the bell that day
> To mak metre, richt cunning and expert;
> And Maister John Ballentyne, sooth to say,
> Mak him marrow to David well we may;
> And for the third, Maistor William Stewart,
> To mak in Scots, richt weel he knew that art.
> Bishop Durié, some time of Galloway,
> For his pleasure sometime wald tak their part."

There were two Stewarts, as appears from Sir David Lyndsay—"*Stewart*, who desires a stately style," and "*Stewart* of Lorn." The William Stewart who translated the poetical version of the "Croniclis," is supposed, from a book picked up at a sale by Mr David Laing, upon which his name was written, to have been sometime rector of Quothquhan, in Lanarkshire, annexed to Libberton in 1660. He was of the royal race of Stewarts, the "Wolf of Badenoch" having been his great-grandfather.[1]

It seems unquestionable that the young King was much indebted to Sir David Lyndsay for the timely but playful manner in which he counsels while he amuses. Under the quaint title of "The

[1] W. B. Turnbull's edition of the "Croniclis."

Complaint of the Papingo," he administers sound advice to his royal master, at the same time that he conveys much interesting information as to the King's domestic history :

" Under thy feet all thing terrestrial,
Are subject to pleasure and pastance :
Baith fowl and fish, and beasts pastoral :
Men to thy service, and women they been thral ;
Hawking, hunting, arms, and lawful amour,
Pre-ordinate are by God for thy pleasure.

Masters of music, to recreate thy spirit,
With dantit[1] voice, and pleasant instrument :
Thus may thou be of all pleasures replete ;
Sa in thine office thou be diligent ;
But, be thou found slothful or negligent,
Or unjust in thine execution,
Thou salt not fail divine punition.

Wherefor, sen thou hast such capacity
To learn to play so pleasantly, and sing,
Ride horse, run spears, with great audacity,
Shoot with hand-bow, cross-bow, and culvering :
Amang the rest, sir, learn to be a king :
Kyth[2] on that craft thy pregnant, fresh ingine,
Grantit to thee by the influence divine.

And sen the definition of a king,
Is for to have of people governance :
Address thee first, above all other thing,
To put thy body to sic ordinance,
That thy virtue thine honour may advance :
For how should princes govern great regions,
That cannot duly guide their own persons ? "

[1] Trained. [2] Kyth, cast, or shew.

The King, we here learn, was skilled in music and song, as well as the manly exercises of the period.

The royal residences chiefly occupied by the Court at this time are indicated in the *Papingo's* adieu:

"Adieu, *Edinburgh*, thou heich, triumphant toun,
Within whose bounds richt blithful have I been:
Of true merchants the root of this region,
Most ready to receive Court, King, and Queen;
Thy policy and justice may be seen:
Were devotion, wisdom, and honesty,
And credence tint, they micht be found in thee.

Adieu, fair *Snawdoun*[1] with thy towery hie,
The chapel-royal, park, and table round,
May, June, and July, would I dwell in thee,
Were I a man, to hear the birds sound,
Whilk doth against thy royal rock redound.
Adieu, *Lithgow*, whose palace of pleasance
Might be a pattern in Portugal or France.

Farewell *Falkland*, the fortress of Fife,
Thy polite park, under the Lowmond Law:
Some time in thee I led a lusty life:

[1] "Snawdoun," says Chalmers, "means Stirling Castle. We here see that Lyndsay transmits a tradition which was known to William of Worcester in the preceding age, about *Arthur* and his *Round Table*; about Stirling being called *Snowdoun*, or West Castle. It was called West Castle, I believe, in contradistinction to the Castle of Blackness." A mound of earth, in what was formerly the palace gardens, is still called the *King's Knot*, where the pastime of the Knights of the Round Table is supposed to have been held.

Thy fallow deer, to see them rake on raw,[1]
Courteours to come to thee they stand great aw,
Saying, thy burgh been of all burrows bail,[2]
Because in thee they never got good ale."

Falkland was chiefly valued for its superior hunting-ground; but courtiers who were not of the royal household did not, it would appear, prefer the burgh as a residence, because of its indifferent hostelries.

In the "Complaint of Bash," a favourite old hound, composed in 1536, we have a thorough picture of the King's delight in animals of the chase. Bash had once enjoyed the chief place in the affections of the young monarch. He says—

"I of na creatures took care,
But lap upon the King's bed,
With claith of gold though it were spread."

But times were so much changed that *Bawty*—

"—— now gets such credence,
That he lies on the King's night-gown."

Of course, the poet means to satirise Court favouritism. But that the King delighted in quadruped favourites as well as courtiers, is apparent from numerous entries in the Treasurer's Accounts.

James seems to have been on very familiar terms with his poetical attendants. They daily presented

[1] Walk in a row. [2] The worst.

him with some effusion or other; and he himself emulated the *Flyting* of *Dunbar* and *Kennedy*, by a poetical pasquinade against Lyndsay. Unhappily, not a line of this effusion survives. We only know that such a thing was penned, from "the answer whilk Sir David Lyndsay made to the King's Flyting;" and from this answer we learn that James was either in reality a poet of superior genius, or that Sir David, like a good courtier, greatly flattered him. The character of the poet for honesty and sincerity, however, forbids the idea of his indulging in undeserved eulogium. At the same time, we learn enough of the "King's Flyting" from the reply, to know that it was a humorous and good-natured retaliatory effusion, in return for the numerous "sage advices" addressed to him by the Poet of the Mount, condemnatory of his gallantries; as, for example, the "Epigram on the King's Three Mistresses," preserved in "The Evergreen." James jocularly accuses his old familiar with lack of ability, rather than will, to pursue similar courses. It is amusing to read Sir David's smooth but pungent reply. It is nearly all unquotable:

"Redoubted Roy, your ragment[1] I have read,
Whilk doth perturb my dull intendment.
* * * * * *
Sir, pardon me, though I be impatient,
Whilk been so with your prunzeand[2] pen detracted,
And, rude report, from Venus' court rejected.
* * * * * *

[1] Any writing. [2] Trimming.

The meikle Devil may not endure your dyting;
Wherefor, *Cor mundum crea in me*, I cry,
Proclaiming you the Prince of Poetry."

This poem must also, as no doubt was the "King's Flyting," have been written in 1536, before the royal marriage, as the allusion to a princess coming from France indicates.

It is not to be supposed, because James was a poet, and practised music and song, and loved adventures, that he passed his time in frivolity History tells another tale. He delighted to mix amongst the peasantry, and the common people of the landward towns; but this was as much to ascertain their wants and grievances, as to join in their amusements and discern character. Buchanan says he "was so well acquainted with the customs of his country, that he would give just answers concerning weighty matters, as he went his journeys upon the road, with a great deal of readiness and exactness; he was easy of access even to the poorest." He was constant in his endeavours to put down anarchy, and protect the weak by the strict administration of justice, as well as to suppress the numerous bands of vagrants who roamed over the country, committing all sorts of robberies. In this way he acted truly as the "King of the Commons," and became a universal favourite with the people. The historian already quoted tells us that he was of a most adventurous and enterprising genius, slight-

ing all danger: "so that he would not only stoutly undergo all hazards, but often court and invite them; for with a small party he would march against the fiercest thieves; and though they were superior in number, yet he would either prevent them by his speed, or else frighten and awe them by the sacred power of his name, and so force them to a surrender."

The success of his endeavours is borne testimony to by Sir David Lyndsay in his *Complaint*. After narrating the tyranny and iniquity to which the country was subjected in the King's nonage—when he himself was banished from the royal presence—he exultingly says:

"I thank the holy Trinity
That I have lived to see this day,
That all the world is went away,
And thou to na man art subjected,
Nor to such councillors coacted:
The four great virtues cardinals,
I see them with the principals;
For Justice holds her sword on hie,
With her balance of equitie.
And in this realm has made sic order,
Both through the Highland and the Border,
That oppression, and all his fallows,
Are hangit heich upon the gallows.

. . . . . .

Dissimulance dare not shew her face,
Whilk wont was to beguile thy grace.

. . . . . .

John-upon-land[1] been full blith, I trow,
Because the rush-bush keeps his cow:

[1] Probably in allusion to Kennedy's "Jok Up-a-land's Complaint."

Sa is there nocht, I understand,
Without guid order in this land,
Except the spirituality,
Praying thy grace thereto have eye ;
Cause them mak ministration,
Conform to their vocation, &c."

The poet was of opinion that he had been overlooked by the King when he was bestowing his gifts, but he adds—"now am I sure to get reward."

Besides being appointed Lyon-King-of-Arms in 1530, he enjoyed a pension, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him; but at what time is uncertain. He had also numerous gratuities in money and dresses, bestowed upon him, as for example: "May 20, 1531. Item, David Lyndsay,[1] Herald, be the Kingis precept, xij elnes blak satyne, to be him ane gowne, price of the elne, xxxij s., xx lib. xvj s." He was also repeatedly employed in embassies to England and France. Contrary to what Chalmers supposes, the following entry in the Treasurer's Accounts shews that the poet had previously been married: "Dec. 25, 1530. Item, to the said David (Bonar) for xiij double hankis of gold, quilkis war deliuerit to David Lindesayis wyf, to sew the Kingis sarkis, the price of ilk hank x s., vj lib." The name of his wife was Janet Douglas, but of what family does not appear. They had no issue, and it is judged, perhaps erroneously, that

[1] He was not knighted at this time, it would seem.

the union was not a happy one. Various other entries attest that she was repeatedly employed in embroidery for the King. In 1540 (June 12) "Schir David Lindsay of the Mount (Lion-King-of-Arms) and Jonet Douglass," were paid £646, 13s. 4d., by precept of the King. This is the first time the title of *Sir* is applied to him in the Treasurer's Accounts. The large gift of money was probably coincident with his being dubbed a knight, in reward of his numerous and important services.

Of the character of James and his amusements during the period which elapsed between 1528 and 1536, when he went on his marriage expedition to France, many illustrations may be drawn from the Treasurer's Accounts. His court at this time was by no means so crowded or gay as that of his father, and perhaps the contrast led to an accusation of parsimoniousness, which Sir Walter Scott repeats in his "Tales of a Grandfather," without attending to the statement of Buchanan, that during his minority the patrimony of the Crown was squandered, and the very palaces dismantled of their costly furnishings. Yet, though comparatively poor, these accounts shew that his tastes and pastimes were similar, and his munificence great, considering his circumstances. Of his fondness for music we have already had indications, and Sir David Lyndsay attests the fact: "March 14, 1530. Item, to Anthoni, talbonar, at the Kingis command, xv lib. . . . May 25. Item, to

the Egyptianis that dansit before the King, in Halyroodhouse, xl s." From 1531 to 1536 there are numerous entries for lutes and lute-strings; and, Nov. 2, 1535, £20 was paid to Richard Hume, Englishman, to make viols to the King. In 1533 various sums were paid for mending the organ at Stirling. "Jan. 3, 1534. Item, deliverit to the Kingis grace, quhilk his Hienes gave to ane Irland clairschochar (harper), x lib."

James was a warm patron of the popular May-day pastimes, and other games in which the people delighted: "April 5, 1531. Item, the v day of April, for vj quarteris gray taffate of Jeynes, to be ane part of the Kingis Robene Hudis baner, price of the elne xiij s. viij d., xxij s. vj d." A number of other items occur in reference to this pageant: "Johnne Bog and Johnne Lawsoune," the King's servants, had scarlet bonnets, liveries, and doublets, to pass with the banner. James Erskine, who acted Robin Hood, had a doublet of gray satin, and a pair of "surage gray" hose. On these occasions a play, or festival, was held throughout all the burghs, when prizes for archery, wrestling, and other gymnastic exercises of the period, were distributed. The usual prize at these contests of the bow was a silver arrow, as at Musselburgh, or a silver gun, as at Dumfries.[1] The King's participation in these national

[1] "The Siller Gun," a poem by Mayne, celebrates the annual shooting match in 1808.

sports had no small share in acquiring for him the popular title of the "King of the Commons." New-year's Day was held with much festivity and diversion: "Dec. 31, 1532. Item, the last day of December, deliverit to Schir Michell Dysart, and his marrowis (companions), be the Kingis precept, to be thaim play-coittis, agane New-zeir-day, xv elnis bukraim, reid and zallow, price of the elne xxx d., j lib." Sir Michael, no doubt, was one of the Pope's knights. The "King of Bane" (Bean), as in the English "Twelfth Night," was another amusement: "Jan. 1532. Item, be the Kingis precept, to Cristiane Rae, quhen scho was Quene of Bane, iiij½ elnis rissiles blak, price of the elne xxvj s. viij d., vj lib." The King of Bane also incidentally occurs. Dec. 28, 1533, a certain sum is expended in "play gownis to the Kingis grace to pas in maskine." Various sums are also given to him while playing at cards.

In the Court there was the usual attendant in cap-and-bells: "March 14, 1530. Item, to Malcolme the Fule, be ane precept of the Kingis, three elnis russate, price xxxvj s." "Maister Johne Dorche," the King's dwarf, appears in an entry, December 1532. "The Droichis part of the Play," in the Bannatyne MS., is supposed to refer to this person; if so, Dunbar could not be the author of it, as Mr Laing conjectured. Jan. 2, 1534, he had a full dress, consisting of gown, hugtoun,[1] doublet, hose,

[1] Short jacket without sleeves.

and bonnet. Again, "Aug. 5, 1535. Item, to the Droiche, be my Lord Thesauraris command, to lows his claithis fra the tailzeouris, xx s." This dwarf seems to have been in great favour, having a regular pension and liveries.

Of the King's love of field-sports, and other outdoor exercises, there are numerous evidences: "July 25, 1528. Item, gevin to William Lyell, be the Kingis precept, for lynt, cale, and corne, distroyit be his servandis at the hunting, v lib." "Sept. 24, 1529. Item, deliverit to Andro Edgar tua ellis of Parise blak, to be ane cloik to the King, to ryde to the hunting in Meggotland, price of the elne xxx s., summa, iij lib." He frequently passed to the Meggotland, on the Border, on hunting expeditions: "Jan. 8, 1530. Item, for carrying of the pailzeonis (pavilions) fra Peblis to Meggotland, and agane, iij lib." Similar items occur repeatedly in subsequent years. Aug. 4. "Item, to Gourlay, messinger, to pass to Menteithe and vthir places with letteris to warne the gentilmene of the cuntre to the King's hunting in Meggotland, xx s." The sum expended in maintaining the King's hounds, for the year ending Sept. 26, 1533, amounted to £270, 12s. 9d. In the summers of 1534 and 1535, he seems to have spent more than the usual time at the hunting. June 14, 1534. "Item, to Malcolme Gourlay, deliverit for x carage horsis tursand the Kingis palzeounis to the hunting, the space of ix

dayis, and ane horse quhilk brocht the bed (lit-du-camp) furth of Striueling, ix lib. ij s."

The King had all his father's passion for fine horses, and spared no pains or expense in procuring superior brood animals from foreign countries: Nov. 2, 1530. "Item, to the Duke of Albanyis servand that brocht the grete horse to the Kingis Grace, jc. xx lib." A French armourer, who came with him, was paid xl lib.

James frequently made presents of horses, hounds, and hawks. An embassy passed to France in 1532, one of whom was Sir David Lyndsay. Along with them, Feb. 24, John Bog was sent with certain horses and hounds to "Madame Dobinze," at an expense of £126. Hawks were frequently presented to Henry VIII: Sept. 3, 1534. "Item, to Edward Stewart, falconar, to mak his expensis, and the servandis, passin with halkis to the King of Ingland, lvj lib. xiiij s. iiij d." James Lindsay, falconer, passed with another lot, 1st Oct. 1535.

The King was an enthusiastic patron of the bow, being anxious to promote the practice of it as a warlike weapon; but the Scots always preferred the spear, buckler and sword, until firearms wholly superseded the bow. Many entries in the Treasurer's Accounts attest his personal zeal in this matter: Oct. 16, 1529. "Item, to ane servand of Mr Johne Chesolmis that presentit bowis and arrowis to the King, xx s." Chisholm was probably

a bow-maker, and took this mode of recommending his manufacture. Oct. 2, 1530. "Item, to the Inglis Boware, for bowis to the King, vij lib." Again, Dec. 2, 1532. "Item, to the Inglis boware, for ane dosane of Bowis and vj dosane of arrowis deliuerit at the Kingis command to Alexander Canasoune; and for iiij dosane of arrowis deliverit to the Kingis grace, for his awne schuting, xxlib." The English bows were probably esteemed superior.

"In this year" (1534), says Pitscottie, "there came an ambassador out of England, named Lord William Howard, with a bishop with him, with many other gentlemen, to the number of three-score horse, which were all able men and waled (picked) men for all kind of games and pastimes, shooting, louping, running, wrestling, and casting of the stone, but they were well 'sayed (essayed or tried) ere they passed out of Scotland, and that by their own provocation; but ever they tint (always lost): till at last, the Queen of Scotland, the King's mother, favoured the English-men, because she was the King of England's sister; and therefore she took an enterprise of archery upon the Englishmen's hands, contrary her son, the King, and any six in Scotland that he would wale, either gentlemen or yeomen, that the Englishmen should shoot against them, either at pricks, revers, or buts, as the Scots pleased.

"The King hearing this of his mother, was con-

tent, and gart her pawn a hundred crowns, and a tun of wine upon the Englishmen's hands; and he incontinent laid down as much for the Scottishmen. The field and ground was chosen in St Andrews, and three landed men and three yeomen chosen to shoot against the English-men, to wit, David Weemyss of that Ilk, David Arnot of that Ilk, and Mr John Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee; the yeomen, John Thomson, in Leith, Steven Taburner, with a piper called Alexander Bailie; they shot very near and warred (worsted) the Englishmen of the enterprise, and wan the hundred crowns and the tun of wine; which made the King very merry, that his men wan the victory."

The King frequently made himself agreeable in this way with the attendants of the ambassadors. Pinkerton tells us that "the Order of the Garter was remitted to James by the hands of Lord William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk." This was no doubt the occasion referred to by Pitscottie. The bishop he speaks of is probably a mistake for the Archdean of Durham, who came for confirmation of the peace. Howard and his followers were entertained, together with the King and the Queen-mother, by Cardinal Beaton at St Andrews, where the competition took place. The truth of the statement is in so far borne out by an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts: July 3, 1534. "Item, to the v archearis that schott with the Kingis grace, xxv lib."

There appears, however, to have been only five persons, besides the King, making six in all.

James used to exercise with the culverin as well as the bow. It was only coming into use as a warlike weapon at this time. Whether by accident or not does not appear; but he happened, upon one occasion, to shoot an honest woman's cow, possibly from the ramparts of Stirling Castle. May 13, 1533. "Item, to Walter Cunynghame's wyfe, in Strivelling, for ane kow, quhilk the King's grace slew with ane culvering, x ls."

Respecting the King's patronage of literature, there are numerous illustrations. The first occurs 4th October 1531. "Item, to Maister Johnne Ballentyne, be the Kingis precept, for translating of the Cronykill, xxx lib." Similar payments continue at intervals for a length of time. May 15, 1533. "Item, to Maister Hector Boece, Principall in Abirdene, for the tane half of his pensione; and the othir half pairt be the Comptroller, xxv lib." This was the celebrated Scottish historian. Again, June 26, 1533. "Item, to him (Maister Johne Ballantyne) in pairt of payment of the translatioune of Titus Leuius, viij lib." The King himself had his place of retirement for writing: there is, in 1535, an item for cloth to cover the King's desks in his study.

Nor was he indifferent to the fine arts. In the same year a lot of "fyne picturis of Flanderis" were

"coft fra Johne Browne;" also some fine drinking-glasses.

Of the munificence and charity of the King, notwithstanding his reputed parsimony, the Treasurer's Accounts afford innumerable instances. He gave sixteen pounds monthly to be distributed by his almoner; but his private benefactions greatly exceeded this sum, as a few extracts will shew. On the 19th April, £4 was given to the woman who had acted as wet-nurse to him in his infancy; and on the 25th, twenty shillings to "a fule callit Gilliemowband." July 31, 1527. "Item, gevin to Dene David Jamesoune, sacristane of Newbottill, in recompence of a gilt challice stollen furth of the Abbay of Newbottill, the Kingis hienes being thair, be the Kingis precept, xv lib. . . . Nov. 24, 1529. Item, gevin to the Lord Fleming,[1] at the Kingis command, in manner of tochir to his sister, iiijc lib. . . . . Oct. 28, 1531. Item, be ane precept, to ane auld failzeit man, in Striueling, callit Alane Stewart, in almonie, xiij lib. vj s. viij d. . . . Item, be ane precept, to ane pure man, quhais horse fell our the Castell wall of Striueling, and brak his nek, iij lib. . . . June 16, 1532. Item, to the King of Cipir (Cipre), jc lib." "The More" had the same day xxx lib. They are supposed to have been two

[1] Lord Fleming, his father, had been slain some time prior to this by Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm, who surrendered himself 15th May 1530.

of those Bohemians, or Egyptians, who so much abused the King's generosity by their false representations, as not only to gain his protection, but gifts of money, as in this instance, until their true character was discovered, when they were subjected to severe punishment, if not persecution. They appear frequently in the Treasurer's books, under the names of "the King," "the Prince," and "the More." July 21, 1532, 40s. were given to the poor woman whose husband had been slain by a gunshot from the castle; and 9th Jan. 1533, £134, 6s. 8d., was paid to John, piper of St Johnston, in tocher with Katherine Sinclair.

Pasch, or Easter, and Christmas and the New-year, were periods of peculiar observance by the Court. Oct. 1530. "Item, for thre cariage horsis to tursei the arrese-werkis[2] quhilkis hang in the Abbay, the Kingis bowis, arrowis, and othir geir of the wardrob, to Striueling, agane Paische, xviij s." Similar entries occur annually about the same period. In removing from one palace to another, the King usually carried the tapestry along with him; from which it would appear that all the palaces were not supplied with this essential. Noblemen, at a much later period, carried their

[1] This word has a wider meaning than Ghalmers supposed when he defined it as "a metathesis of truss." It signifies not only to bundle up, but to carry off quickly, or cast forth.

[2] Tapestry.

furniture from one residence to another. After the King's marriage, when many of the palaces were repaired and extended, vast quantities of tapestry appear, from the Treasurer's Accounts, to have been purchased, so as permanently to adorn the walls, which were without plaster, as in modern times. What was called "the Black Kist," which contained the reliques, frequently transpires among the articles conveyed from the chapel at Holyrood. "Feb. 23, 1532. Item, to twa cartis, that are to turse the blak kist with the chapell graith to Striueling, and that vthir with the arrese hingaris, iij lib. xij s." . . . . . "Item, For ane lok mending, and ane new kee to the black kist that kepis the reliqueis, xvjd." These reliques of some of the saints, no doubt, were connected with the chapel-royal. It was the custom of the King to bestow gifts of "goldin werk" at the New-year. The trinkets furnished by Thomas Rhynd, goldsmith, for this purpose in 1535, amounted to £1023, 12s."

Repeated payments for masses for the King appear in the Treasurer's Accounts. For example: June 9, 1532. "Item, for ane trentall of messis[1] for the Kingis grace in Quhithorne, xxxs." Aug. 11. Item, to xij chaplanis to say mess for the Kingis grace afoir oure Lady of Paisley, xijs." Some foreign seamen having been shipwrecked on the coast of Ayr, 20s. were paid (11th Feb. 1533)

[1] Three hundred.

"for ane trentall of messis done for the Britonaris saulis quhilkis perist at the port of Aire."

No items appear in the accounts at this time from which any proper idea can be formed of the style of dress usually worn by the King. He had a black cloak at the hunting at Meggotland. His head-dress seems to have been a bonnet. Aug. 27, 1534. "Item, delivelit to Johnne Murray, ane blak bonet, to cover ane steil-bonet to the Kingis grace, price thairof, xiijs. Item, to ane typpet to the said bonet, and ane ryding typpet to ane othir bonet, ane elne tappety of the cord, price thairof, xx s." The tippet of the bonnet was intended to cover the neck and shoulders. The only reference to books in the accounts about this time (Sept. 3, 1534) is £1 paid to the servant of one Coclcus, "quhilk brocht fra his maister ane buyk, intitulat . . . . ."

Pitscottie relates that numerous single combats, arising out of the feuds and treasons of the times, were fought in presence of the King, and witnessed by him from the walls of Stirling. He adopted the expedient of granting licenses for the *duello*, with the view of checking those slaughters which were so common throughout the country. On one occasion, the Lairds of Drumlanrig and Amisfield set to with double-handed swords. Drumlanrig was somewhat short-sighted, and could not see his opponent very well; but he laid about him with great vigour, and

the combat was maintained with equal violence by Amisfield. At length the sword of the latter broke, upon which James called upon the attendants to separate them, which was accomplished with some difficulty.

CHAPTER VII.

AUTHORSHIP OF "PEBLIS TO THE PLAY," AND "CHRYSTIS KIRK ON THE GRENE."

MUCH diversity of opinion has prevailed as to the authorship of those two famous remains of the olden muse of Scotland. Not, perhaps, that there has been much discussion on the subject, but that writers have so frequently and oppositely expressed their judgments.

"Peblis to the Play" was originally published by Dr Percy from the Maitland MS. in the Pepysian Library, Magdalen College, Cambridge. It is understood that the volume was presented to Pepys by the Duke of Lauderdale, minister to Charles II., to whom it had descended from his ancestor, Sir Richard Maitland, the compiler. Sir Richard commenced his compilation in 1555, and died in 1586, so that the period in which it was formed, lies

between these two dates. The poem is anonymous in the MS., although Pinkerton asserted otherwise in his "Select Scottish Poems," 1786; but Dr Percy ascribed it to James I., from a passage in Major, which celebrates that Prince as a writer of Scottish songs. The statement is as follows:

"In vernacula lingua artificiosissimus compositor; cujus codices plurimi, et cantilinæ, memoriter adhuc apud Scotos inter primos habentur. Artificiosum cantilenam (composuit) *yas sen*, &c., et jucundum artificiosumque illum cantum *at Beltayn* quem alii de *Dalkeith* et *Gargeil* mutare studuerunt, quia arce aut camera clausus servabatur, in qua mulier cum matre habitabat."

Here, as Dr Percy conceived, we have the two first words of "Peblis to the Play," which commences with "at Beltane, quhen ilk bodie bownis." *Yas sen* are supposed to be the first two words of another short poem attributed to James I., but transposed or inaccurately printed. Bellenden also states that he was a writer of verses. Percy was followed by Pinkerton and Tytler, the latter founding his belief chiefly on the circumstance of the language resembling that of "Christ's Kirk on the Green."

Lord Hailes was the first to remark, in his notes on the statutes of James I., that the poem had reference to a later period than the reign of that monarch, as Major wrote nearly a hundred years after the King's death, about 1520. He contended that he

was no authority upon such a point; and, besides, having been educated in England, the King could hardly be expected to write so freely in the Scottish idiom. Sibbald, in his "Chronicle of Scottish Poetry," 1802, brought still stronger arguments against Dr Percy's affiliation of the poem. He contended that it could not have been composed prior to 1457. In that year, by the 70th Statute of James II., it was enacted, "that the wives and daughters of men living in burrowes, and of landwart, sould not wear sumptuous claithing, but be abulzied in manner correspondent to their estait; that is to say, on their heads short *curchies*, with little *hudes, such as are used in Flanders, England,* and *uther countries,*" &c. It would thus appear that the fashion of *curchies* and *hudes* was unknown in Scotland prior to this act, and that it was to be adopted, in imitation of the countries mentioned. And this seems to be corroborated by the fact, that the word *curchie* does not occur in any of the glossaries to the old poets. Now, the second verse of "Peblis to the Play" runs thus:

"All the wenchis of the west,
War up or the cok crew;
For reiling thair micht na man rest,
For garray[1] and for glew.[2]
Ane said, my *curchis* ar not prest,
Than answerit Meg, full blew,

[1] Dressing, or preparation. [2] Glee.

To get a *kude* I hald it best,
Be Goddis soul that is trew,
Quoth scho,
Of Peblis to the Play."

The answer of Meg would seem to have been made on the instant recollection of the recent statute. But Sibbald further objects, that the poem does not agree with Major's statement, even granting him to be an authority. *At Beltayn*, he thinks, must mean a place (not the first words of the song), because the occasion of the parodies, as Major says, was "by reason of his [the King's] having been shut up in a tower or chamber in which a woman resided with her mother." Now, there is no such circumstance alluded to in "Peblis to the Play," from which it would truly seem that Major referred to some other poem attributed to James I. Indeed, the broad humour of the piece is altogether unlike the "ornate style" and refined sentiment of the author of the "King's Quair," which lengthy and elegant poem, as every one understands, was composed while James remained a captive in England. If he had been the author, or even the reputed author of "Christ's Kirk on the Green," it is curious that no hint to that effect occurs in the works of any of the poets who succeeded him. His name is not even mentioned in Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris," which would be unaccountable had he been known as the author of the "King's Quair" in

that poet's time. Neither Major nor Bellenden say that he was. Lyndsay, in his "Complaint of the Papingo," is no doubt high in laudation of the "ingine," or genius, of his sovereign's ancestor, but not a word of any of his productions in particular:

> "King James the First, the patron of prudence,
> *Gem* of *ingine*, and pearl of policie,
> Well of justice, and flood of eloquence,
> Whose virtue doth transcend my fantasie
> For to descrive."

The conclusion to be drawn from this silence is, that the poem was of too refined a character to remain on the memory of an unlettered people, even although it had been made public. It must have been written before 1424, the year in which the King obtained his liberty; and it is questionable if its existence was known in Scotland in 1507-8, when Dunbar composed his *Lament*. The only MS. copy is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, from which it was first printed by Mr W. Tytler. It was again produced by Pinkerton, in his "Select Scottish Poems" in 1786. In 1824 George Chalmers gave, in his "Poetic Remains of the Scottish Kings," what he considered a more accurate version, rendered, in as far as practicable, into modern English. Pinkerton, as Chalmers shews, was in error in supposing the Bodleian MS. to be in the handwriting of the King. Compared with a short charter written by James in the *Diplomata Scotiæ*, it

proves to be a copy. The "King's Quair" thus seems to have been buried for centuries. Hence the silence of Dunbar, Lyndsay, and others on the subject. Not so with "Peblis to the Play," however; for the poem was known, if not the author. Writing in 1540, Lyndsay speaks of it in the following lines:

> "My purchess is not worth ane prene,
> I may sing *Peblis on the Green.*"

The omission of this poem, as well as "Christ's Kirk on the Green," in the *Complaint of Scotland*, composed in 1549, is therefore no proof that they did not exist.

Sibbald conjectures that "Peblis to the Play" was written between 1457-60, and suggests that the author was Henryson, who began his poetical career about 1450. He is led to this belief because he was the best qualified of his time for such a stroke of humour, and that he finds similar words and expressions in his acknowledged poems. This, however, is no evidence. He might as well say that Dunbar was the author of a great portion of what Lyndsay wrote, because he finds numerous similar words and phrases in the works of the latter. The fact is, certain sentiments and images were in common use among the poets of an early date, just as portions of ballads were among the minstrels, and to judge the authorship of any particular poem or ballad by such a rule alone, would be absurd. Why Henryson

should have concealed his name, as Sibbald supposes, is rather mysterious; and still more, that his son, the Lord Justice-clerk, as well as his grandson, both of whom died at Flodden, should have deemed it necessary to keep the secret. There is nothing in the poem of "Peblis to the Play," either legally or morally, that the author or his family needed to have been afraid or ashamed of, considering the license of the period. Sibbald seems to have been thinking of "Christ's Kirk on the Green," which might be construed into a satire on the practice of the bow, which the Scottish monarchs were so anxious to encourage, and in which the Scots never were proficients. Beltane was the great hiring-market at Peebles, and no doubt the pastimes of *Robin Hude, Little John*, or the *Abbot of Unreason*, would be there enacted, as some of them usually were on May-day—hence the phrase of "Peblis to the Play." The poem itself indicates as much:—

"Than they com to the townis end,
Withouten mair delay;
He befoir, and scho befoir,
To see quha wés maist gay:
All that lukit them upon
Laught fast at thair array;
Sum said that thay wer market fok;
Sum said the *Quene of May*
Was cum,
Of Peblis to the Play."

By the act of Queen Mary in 1555, all such plays were prohibited. The poem describes the gathering

of the people, their drinking, fighting, and dancing, and as such it is a valuable record of past habits and amusements.

Though we cannot agree with Sibbald in ascribing the authorship of "Peblis to the Play" to Henryson, yet it seems clear that James I. can have no claim to it. But it would be futile to condescend upon any one of the many poets who flourished during the reigns of James III. and James IV. as the writer. Unless we could suppose Maitland to have transcribed the poem from a MS., older, of course, than his collection, which began in 1555, and not from memory or recitation, the language or orthography in which it is presented, is but an indifferent guide. All merely oral poetry must partake less or more of the period in which it is first committed to writing, whatever may have been the character of its original composition. Hence Tytler thought the language resembled that of "Christ's Kirk on the Green." Under such circumstances, it is to be regretted that an effigy of James I. should have been selected as one of the stone ornaments for the Chambers's Institution at Peebles, thus assuming and perpetuating, in as far as that locality is concerned, what certainly is not a settled fact, that he was the author of "Peblis to the Play."

Still greater diversity of opinion prevailed, if it does not yet prevail, respecting the author of "Christ's Kirk on the Green." Dempster, who wrote at the

beginning of the seventeenth century, extols James V. as a poet of rare genius, and the author of "A Heroic Poem on the Rural Dances of *Falkirk*." Of course this was a mistake for Christ's Kirk. He was in France at the time, and, distant from the proper sources of information, had to draw upon memory for his facts—hence his work is not esteemed an authority: still, his statement shews that, in so far as recollection served, James V. was the reputed author. Bishop Gibson, of London, who was the first to publish "Christ's Kirk," in 1691, says it is "composed, as is supposed," by James V. He does not mention the source from whence he derived the poem. It is only known to have been preserved in the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS., so it is likely, from its inaccuracies, that he had drawn upon the former. Gibson was followed by Watson, who, in his "Choice Collection of Scots Poems," in 1706, also attributed the poem to James V.; so did Mackenzie, the biographer, in 1711, and Ruddiman, the editor of Gawyn Douglas, in 1720. None of these parties appear to have known anything of the Bannatyne MS., now in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh. In 1724, however, Allan Ramsay, having obtained the loan of that invaluable collection from one of his noble patrons, published *The Evergreen*, chiefly selected from it, and was the first to ascribe "Christ's Kirk" to James I. on the authority of Bannatyne. He was followed by Tytler, in 1783,

who, when publishing the "King's Quair," also gave his reasons for assigning the poem to the same royal pen. His opinion rested mainly on the similarity of the language, as he conceived, between it and "Peblis to the Play," which he never doubted was the production of James I. Pinkerton supported Tytler in his "Ancient Scottish Poems," in 1786, adding, "Christ's Kirk is given to James I. from its style, so unlike that of James V.'s time." Yet he had, in 1783, been of a different opinion—such is the uncertainty of judging from language and style. It is astonishing what influence Pinkerton, notwithstanding his shallowness and inaccuracy in almost everything, acquired as a literary antiquary. Ellis, evidently swayed by that influence, says, in his "Specimens of English Poets," that, "*Christ's Kirk on the Green* and *Peblis to the Play*, are now universally attributed to James I.;" and the late Dr Irving, in his "Lives of the Scottish Poets," so far concurs as to leave James V. altogether out of the list; and he did this, dogmatically treating Sibbald's remarks in 1802, which applied still more forcibly to "Christ's Kirk" than to "Peblis to the Play," as unworthy of consideration. It is strange how perverse and crotchety some writers are. In 1824, Chalmers unhesitatingly ascribes the former to James V. The state of opinion may be set down thus:—

For James I.	For James V.
Ramsay, Tytler, Pinkerton, Ellis, and Irving—5.	Dempster, Bishops Gibson and Tanner, Lord Oxford, Watson, Ruddiman, Percy, Warton, Ritson, Hailes, Sibbald, and Chalmers—12.

Notwithstanding this formidable array of opposition, but little discussion took place on the subject. Indeed, there is perhaps not room for much. Ramsay, whose labours have been too severely derided by Hailes, Pinkerton, and others who succeeded him, was justified in attributing "Christ's Kirk on the Green" to James I., because it is distinctly placed to his credit in the Bannatyne MS. The words are "ffinis q. (quoth) King James *the First.*" But perhaps he did not observe that the next poem but one, which is Dunbar's "Dirge to the King at Stirling," is margined with this title—"The Dregy of Dunbar maid to King James ye *fyift* being in Striuilling." The word *fyift* has been read *first* by some, but it is unquestionably *fifth*. Amongst others, Pinkerton seems to have examined the MS., for he says, "I found nothing in the Bannatyne MS. which gives the former ["Christ's Kirk"] to James the First; for, in the next piece, save one, it palpably puts *first* for *fourth*, or by mistake *fifth*." Now, this mistake wholly invalidates the authority of the collector, even although there were no other circumstances to prove that James I. could not be the author; but this blunder undoubtedly strengthens

tradition in attributing the poem to James V., in so far that Bannatyne seems to have been sensible that it belonged to some of the Jameses. He must have had a very confused idea of the different eras of the Stuart dynasty, and yet his MS. bespeaks a person of education and intelligence. His collection was written, as he says in conclusion, in the year of the Pest (pestilence) 1568, when he could not go out in prosecution of his usual occupation. Now this occurred in the reign of Queen Mary, daughter of James V. It is strange, therefore, that his memory should have been so treacherous in reference to the Queen's father or grandfather. We must conclude that the inaccuracies described were not the result of ignorance, but merely slips of the pen.

The authority of the Bannatyne MS. being thus undermined, there is nothing else to rest the assumption upon that James I. was the author of "Christ's Kirk on the Green." Pinkerton, in support of the proposition, ventured upon a most absurd argument. "*Christ's Kirk*," he says, "is given to James I. from its style, so unlike that of James V.'s time. It is also most unlikely that two successive princes should write two such similar poems as *Christ's Kirk* and *Peblis*." The very converse of this should have been the argument, for *it is* most unlikely that one prince would repeat himself in such a way. It might as well be supposed that Burns would have thought of writing two sets of "Tam

o' Shanter." But supposing James I. to have written "Peblis to the Play," as descriptive of rustic merriment at one of the great annual fairs of the south, it was not unnatural for his descendant, James V., to take up the strain, in commemoration of a similar gathering in the north. And this was no doubt the spirit in which "Christ's Kirk" was written—as a corollary to "Peblis to the Play" —whoever the author of the latter might be. The same kind of stanza is adopted; and it is curious that the measure stands alone in the olden poetry of Scotland, though it may be traced in the French romances, some of which were translated into English in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Tytler and Pinkerton tell us that the one is full of "southern Scottish words," and that the other is "composed in the Scandinavian alliteration, with many northern words." The fact is, they are both partially written in the alliterative style, of which Dunbar is believed to have furnished the first specimen in blank verse. The first stanza of each will suffice to illustrate our meaning:

"At *B*eltane, quhen ilk *b*odie *b*ownis
To *P*eblis to the *p*lay,
To heir the *s*ingin and the *s*oundis;
The *s*olace, *s*uth to *s*ay,
Be *f*irth and *f*orest *f*urth they *f*ound;
Thay *g*raythit them full *g*ay;
God *w*ait that *w*old they do that stound,

For it was their *feist* day,
They said,
Of *P*eblis to the *play*."

"Christ's Kirk" begins thus:

"Was never in *S*cotland hard nor sene
Sic *d*ansing nor *d*eray,
Nowthir at Falkland on the grene
Nor *P*eblis at the *play*,
As *w*es of *w*owaris, as I *w*ene,
At Chryst Kirk on ane day:
Thair come our *K*itteis weschin clene
In thair new kirtillis of *g*ray,
Full *g*ay,
At Chrystis Kirk of the grene."

The latter stanza is precisely as it occurs in the Bannatyne MS. The alliteration, it will be seen, actually prevails more in the first than the second, but it is not maintained regularly throughout; and the notion about northern words, if we except, perhaps, the proper name, *Robin Roy*, is wholly imagination. The last line is usually printed *on*, in place of "*of* the grene," with the additional words "that day;" but this addition occurs only occasionally in the MS. It is thus evident that the first poem was the model of the second, while the subject is the same—the celebration of a landward fair or May-day gathering. The plot, and much of the incident are also similar. The early preparation of the *wenchis* in the one, and the *Kitteis*, or lasses, in the other, starts upon the same key-note.

Meg, " so guckit and so gend," is the *gawkie* (fool) of the southern, and Gillie of the northern. At Peebles they had a piper, at Christ's Kirk *Tom Lutar* (a player on the lute) was the minstrel. In the south the quarrel originates as to the mode of collecting the reckoning. In the north the uproar commences at the dancing. " Will Swane " is the " meikle millar man " of Peebles: at " Christ's Kirk "

> " The millar wes of manly mak,
> To meet him wes na mowis."

But although the one poem is thus closely fashioned after the other, there is considerable difference in the execution. " Peblis to the Play " is meagre of incident compared with the variety in " Christ's Kirk on the Green ;" and this is a strong proof of its greater age, for we should say that it must have been written more than half a century previously. Other internal evidences might be adduced in illustration of the fact. Although the language is similar—the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS. being of the same age—yet the reader will perceive that " Peblis to the Play " is by no means so smoothly rhymed as " Christ's Kirk." This can only be properly understood by a full perusal of both poems, but perhaps a single quotation may shew what we mean:

> " A zoung man stert into that steid,
> As cant as ony colt ;

A birkin hat upon his heid,
With a bow and a bolt;
Said, merry maydinis, think not long,
The weather is fair and smolt.
He cleikit up a hich rouch song,
'Thair fure ane man to the holt,'
Quoth he,
Of Peblis to the play."

There is nothing so jolting in the later poem, which is much superior as a production of poetical art. In "Peblis to the Play" various oaths are made use of, such as "be Goddis soul," which are not to be found in "Christ's Kirk." Oaths of this kind were very common in the fifteenth century, and even later; but probably Dunbar's satire of the *Devil's Inquest* helped to lessen the practice, especially within the sphere of the Court. Dr Percy, attributing "Peblis to the Play" to James I., says—"This is a proof that 'Christ's Kirk on the Green' was written by his descendant, James V., being evidently a more modern composition;" and Pinkerton was at one time of the same opinion. Percy suggested that there may have been a ballad called "Falkland on the Green," now lost. This is probable; but it is just as likely that James V., who greatly enjoyed the chase at that royal residence, merely alluded to the rustic sports on the green at Falkland, which he had often witnessed, if not promoted and mixed in.

It is curious that, notwithstanding the number of

critics who profess to have examined the Bannatyne MS., the first line of the sixth stanza is still retained in all the editions we have consulted as originally transcribed by Allan Ramsay—

"Than Steven come *steppand* in with stends."

In the MS. it reads—

"Than Stevin come *scoppand* in with stendis,
No rynk mycht him arreist."

The difference between the words *steppand* and *scoppand* is very material. The one means *stepping*, and the other *skipping*, which latter is much more in keeping with *stendis*, signifying bounds or leaps. To *step* in with *bounds* is absurd, but not so to *skip*.

CHAPTER VIII.

POETRY AND ADVENTURES OF THE KING.

It cannot be doubted that James V. was a poet, and that he composed "Christ's Kirk on the Green," we have every reason to believe. But at what precise time it was written, or where the locality of the poem, are questions not so easily answered. It

seems pretty clear that it was not wholly a fiction, but the result of observation—a picture of what the author had witnessed at those great annual gatherings, or fairs, held in every district of the country. And no one was better acquainted with the manners and customs of the people than the "King of the Commons." The dancing and fighting upon these occasions came down, in a modified form, even to our own times. The poem is not a juvenile production, but of ripe and cultivated genius. In short, it can hardly be excelled in graphic description and humour. Admitting, as we must, that much of the King's early writings have been lost—perhaps because they were, like his "Flyting" with Lyndsay, not of a character to impress the popular mind—we may safely conclude that "Chryst's Kirk" was the composition of mature years. But in this conclusion we are bounded by the circumstances of his two marriages—the one following so close upon the other—together with the events which followed thereon, which limit the period of its composition to perhaps between 1534, when a truce was entered into with England, and 1536—both years included. In the latter year he proceeded to France, in pursuance of his marriage—the death of his youthful Queen only a few weeks after his return, in 1537—the negotiations for his second marriage with Mary of Guise, which took place the following year, and the important national events

which rapidly succeeded, till his premature death in 1542—all tend to shew that the King could hardly have leisure, or be in humour, to write such a poem as "Chryst's Kirk on the Green," at any period later than 1536.

The scene of the poem, as well as the authorship, has been the subject of much discussion. There is but one locality, it appears, in Scotland that answers to the description; and that is Christ's Church, at Leslie, in the Garioch, Aberdeenshire. It has long been united to the parish of Kinnethmount; but the ruins of the old church stand on a green, where a fair, as stated in the old "Statistical Account" (1792), was still held. As the gathering continued over the night, it was called *Sleepy Market.* This fair is now abolished, at least no mention is made of it in the Almanac lists of such meetings; and it is rather curious that no notice of it occurs in "Smith's Kalendar, imprentit at Edinburgh in 1599." The only fair in Aberdeenshire there recorded is set down for December. Christ's Church was the name of the Monastery of *Red Fryars* at Peebles, and the fair there was, and still is, held in May. But the poem of "Peblis to the Play" forbids the idea of that locality having also been the scene of "Christ's Kirk on the Green." There is, to be sure, a Leslie in Fife, where, according to "Smith's Kalendar," a fair was of old held in September. Now there are two fairs, one in April and the other in October;

but there is no record of there ever having been a *Christ's Church* connected with it. Yet Ramsay, not thinking of Leslie in Aberdeenshire, made Leslie in Fife the scene of his continuation of the poem Sibbald, in his "Chronicle of Scottish Poetry" (1802), advances very strong arguments in favour of James V. being the author of this poem, and in fact assigns him the undoubted credit of it. Yet, when the question comes to the matter of locality, it is curious to observe how prejudice, or some other feeling, runs away with his judgment. In the poem, entitled "the Justing between James Watson and John Barbour, servitours to King James the Fifth," written by Sir David Lyndsay, in burlesque of the tournaments and jousting held at St Andrews, in midsummer 1538, where festivities were maintained for forty days in honour of the King's second marriage, he found various passages almost in the very words of "Christ's Kirk," and concluded that the coincidence was too striking to be accidental. He therefore supposes that "Christ's Kirk" was written in burlesque of one of the day's amusements, and the "Justing" of another; and that the author might have given the name of Christ's Kirk to the College Kirk of St Salvador. Sibbald thus claims the honour of the scene for St Andrews; but the idea is altogether absurd, and opposed to the poem itself, which clearly conveys the impression of a landward town, not the seat of a university, like St

Andrews. Besides, it is not likely that, on such an occasion, the King would burlesque what must have been to him a matter of considerable gratification. Chalmers says—"When Lyndsay wrote his ludicrous account of the *justing* between those royal *medicinars* for the King's amusement, in 1538, he appears to have had before him the King's sentiment and style, with design to please James V. on the occasion of his marriage, by seeing his own merriments, and his own language, again brought before him on a somewhat different occasion."

We are thus compelled to adopt Christ's Kirk in the Garioch as the scene of the poem, not because, as Tytler and Pinkerton would have it, that there are more *northern* words in it than "Peblis to the Play," a very extraordinary and unfounded opinion upon the part of writers maintaining, at the time (for Pinkerton, at least, shifted his ground), that both poems were written by James I., as if that king could, or did, write south-country Scotch at Peebles, and northern in Aberdeen![1]

[1] Pinkerton, on the suggestion of Percy, was of opinion that there had been two poems of an earlier date than "Christ's Kirk on the Green," which idea he founded on the line—

"Nowthor at *Falkland on the Green*."

No such production is known as "Falkland on the Green." It is possible, however, that it may have existed; but how Pinkerton could reconcile the fact with his notion that James I. was the

CHRIST'S KIRK ON THE GREEN.

Was never in Scotland heard nor seen,
Sic dancing nor deray,[1]
Nowther at Falkland on the green,
Nor Peebles[2] at the play,
As was of wowars,[3] as I ween,
At Christ Kirk on a day;
There come our kitteis,[4] washen clean,
In their new kirtles[5] of gray,
Full gay,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

author of "Christ's Kirk on the Green," were it not that he seldom allowed any obstacle to stand in the way of a theory, is surprising. Falkland was not annexed to the Crown till 1424, and hardly regarded as one of the royal palaces till the reign of James V. It was extremely unlikely, therefore, that James I., writing between 1424 and 1437 (as he must have done were he the author of the poem), would have made reference to the dancing and deray of the ballad, when no such scenes—under his cognizance, at least—could have occurred at Falkland during his short reign of thirteen years. As elsewhere stated, Falkland was originally a stronghold of the Earldom of Fife, and the village that gradually sprung up in its vicinity was only created a burgh by James II. in 1458. It was not entitled to hold a fair, like Peebles and Leslie, when James I. was alive.

[1] Revelry. [2] The Beltane fair is still held at Peebles.
[3] Suitors. [4] Playful girls. [5] Upper garments of women.

To dance thir damysellis[1] them dicht,[2]
Thir lasses licht of laitis;[3]
Their gloves were of the raffel[4] richt
Their shoon were of the straitis,[5]
Their kirtles were of Lynkoune licht,[6]
Weel pressed with mony plaits;
They were so nice when men them nicht,[7]
They squeel'd like ony gaits,[8]
So loud,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

Of all thir maidens, mild as meid,[9]
Were nane so jimp as Jillie;[10]
As ony rose hir rude[11] was reid,
Her lyre[12] was like the lillie:

[1] Damsels. [2] Prepared.

[3] Light of limbs. Laits also signifies manners; but such can hardly be the meaning here.

[4] Doeskin, from *ra* or *rae*, and fell.

[5] Coarse woollen cloth, or Kersey, with leather soles.

[6] Chalmers is in error as to this word. It is *Lynkoune* in the Bannatyne MS., not *Lyncome*, and evidently means a cloth made at *Lincoln*, whatever the quality of it might be. Lincoln-green was a favourite dress in Scotland as well as England in former times.

[7] Shy when men came nigh them. [8] Goats.

[9] Chalmers does not attempt to explain this word; and it cannot mean "appearance, port," as in Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary. The comparison is obviously between the deportment of the maidens and the mildness of *meid*, or *mead*, a drink, according to Johnson, made of honey and water, but which is supposed, in Scotland, to have been a kind of sweet ale known to our ancestors in the days of the Druids.

[10] Juliana. [11] Complexion. [12] Skin.

How yellow, yellow, was her heid,
But she of love was sillie;
Though all her kin had sworn her deid,[1]
She wald have but sweet Willie,
Alone,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

She scornit Jock, and skraipit[2] at him,
And murjunit him with mocks;[3]
He wald have lovit, she wald not let him,
For all his yellow locks;
He cherished her, she bad gae chat him,[4]
She compt' him not twa clocks;[5]
So shamefully his short gown set him,
His limbs were like twa rocks,[6]
She said,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

Tom Lutar was their minstrel meet,
O Lord! as he could lans;[7]
He played so shill, and sang so sweet,
While Towsy[8] took a trans;[9]

[1] Her death. [2] Sneered by mock reverence.
[3] Made wry mouths and mocking jestures.
[4] Hang himself. *Chat* is a cant phrase for the gallows.
[5] Beetles. [6] Distaffs. [7] Spring.
[8] A cant phrase for a man or woman. A man is probably here meant.
[9] A dance or hop of any kind, not a particular dance, "anciently in use," as Jamieson supposed.

Auld Lichtfute [1] he did forleit,[2]
And counterfeited France,
He used himself as man discreet,
And up took mureis [3] dance,
Full loud,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

Then Steven come scoppand [4] in with stends,[5]
No rink micht him arreist;
Platfute[6] he bobbit up with bends,
For Millie he made requeist:
He lap while he lay on his lends,[7]
But rising he was preist,[8]
While that he hostit at baith ends,
For honour of the feast,
That day
At Christ's Kirk on the Green.

[1] An old dance so called.

[2] Forsake.

[3] Morrice-dance. In "Peblis to the Play" Will Swane begins "the *schamons* dans," which Chalmers does not explain. It probably means the *cornet* dance, *schamon* being the old name for that instrument.

[4] Skipping. In the *Evergreen*, and subsequent editions of this poem, including Chalmer's "Remains of the Scottish Kings," this word is printed *steppand* or *stepping*. But it is clearly *scoppand* in the Bannatyne MS., which is the best word in connection with *stends*. It is perhaps worthy of notice, that "Steven Taburner," one of the King's musicians, is mentioned by Pitscottie as of the party selected to compete with the English archers at St Andrews. He is probably the same person thus caricatured.

[5] Springs, or bounds.

[6] The name, perhaps, of another dance, in which the feet were crossed.

[7] Loins.

[8] Pressed.

Syne Robin Roy begoud to revel,
And Dwny[1] till him druggit;[2]
Lat be, quoth Jock, and ca'd him javell,[3]
And by the tail him tuggit;
The kensy[4] cleekit to the cavell,[5]
But, Lord! than gif they luggit,[6]
They part there, manly, with a nevell;[7]
God wit gif hair was ruggit,
Betwixt them,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

Ane bent a bow, for stirt could steir him,[8]
Great skaith[9] 'twere to have scared him;
He chose a flane[10] as did effeir him,[11]
The 'tother said, *dirdum dardum*;[12]
Through baith the cheeks he thocht to cheir[13] him,
Or through the erse have chard[14] him;
But by an acre braid it came not near him,
I cannot tell what marred him,
There,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

[1] Downy: perhaps another cant phrase, like Towsy, applied here to a woman.
[2] Dragged.
[3] A contemptuous fellow.
[4] The crusty fellow, applied to Robin.
[5] Low fellow.
[6] Took each other by the ears.
[7] A blow.
[8] For strife could stir him.
[9] Damage.
[10] An arrow.
[11] As suited him.
[12] From *dird*, a blow, in contempt.
[13] Pierce.
[14] The preterite of *cheir*, or *char*.

With that a friend of his cried, Fy!
And up ane arrow drew;
He forgit[1] it so furiously,
The bow in flinders flew:
Sa was the will of God, trow I,
For, had the tree been true,
Men said, that kend his archery,
That he had slain anew,
That day,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green.

A hasty hensure,[2] callit Harry,
Wha was an archer heynd,[3]
Tilt up a tackle withouten tary,[4]
That torment so him teynd;[5]
I wit not whether his hand could vary,
Or the man was his friend;
For he escapit through the michts of Mary,[6]
As man that no ill meynd,
But gude,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

Than Lowrie, as a lion, lap,
And soon a flane could fedder;[7]
He hecht to pierce him at the pap,
Thereon to wed a wedder:[8]

[1] Stretched the bow. [2] A giddy young fellow; sw. *hensker*, a fool.
[3] Skilful, expert.
[4] Snatched up a bow and arrow without delay.
[5] Enraged. [6] The power of the Virgin Mary.
[7] And soon an arrow began to feather.
[8] Wager, or bet, a wether, a sheep. Before the act in 1547.

He hit him on the wame a wap,
It buffed like ony bladder;
But sae his fortune was and hap,
His doublet was made of ledder,
And saved him,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

[The buff so boustrously abaisit[1] him,
To the earth he dushit doun;
The other for dead he preissit[2] him,
And fled out of the toun:
The wives come furth, and up they paissit[3] him,
And fand life in the loun;
And with three routis[4] they raised him,
And couverit[5] him of swoon,
Again,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.][6]

A yape[7] young man, that stood him neist,
Loused off a shot with ire;

regarding the practice of the bow, the fine for those who absented themselves from the *bow-mark* was "a wedder." After that, those who did not "schut six schottis at the least," were fined in "twa pennies."

[1] Confounded him.
[2] Prized, or thought.
[3] Poised.
[4] Shouts, as sailors do.
[5] Recovered him from swoon.
[6] This verse occurs in the Maitland, but not in the Bannatyne MS. It seems unnecessary and unnatural; for it hardly can be supposed that an arrow, striking a man on his leather doublet, could knock him down. It seems as if it were the addition of some one who thought the original could be improved.
[7] Eager.

He ettled the bern[1] in at the breist,
The bolt flew owre the byre;
Ane cried, Fy! he had slain a priest,[2]
A mile beyond a mire;
Than bow and bag frae him he keist,[3]
And fled as fierce as fire,
Of flint,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

With forks and flails they let great flaps,[4]
And rang together like frigs:[5]
With bowgars of barns they beft blew caps,[6]
While they of berns made brigs;[7]
The reird[8] raise rudely with the raps,
When rungs were laid on rigs;[9]
The wives come forth with cries and claps,
Lo! where my liking ligs,[10]
Quoth they,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

They girnit, and let gird, with granes,[11]
Ilk gossip other grievit;

[1] Man.

[2] Deemed sacrilegious; hence the terror of the man. Chalmers remarks—"The sarcasm here was natural to James V., but unsuitable to James I."

[3] Cast. [4] Great strokes. [5] Furies.

[6] With the rafters of barns they knocked off blue bonnets. The word *bowgars* is not peculiar to the north, as Chalmers says.

[7] Made bridges of men, so many having been knocked down.

[8] Noise. [9] Clumsy sticks laid on the backs.

[10] My love lies. [11] They girned, and let drive with groans.

Sum strack with stangs,[1] sum gather'd stanes,
Sûm fled, and evil eschevit:[2]
The minstrel was within twa wanes,[3]
That day full well he previt;[4]
For he came hame with unbirst banes,
Where fechters were mischevit,
For ever,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

Heich Hucheon, with a hazel ryss,[5]
To red 'gan through them rummel;
He mudlet[6] them like ony mys,[7]
He was no bauty bummel:[8]
Though he was wicht, he was not wys,
With sic janglers to jummel;[9]
For frae his thumb they dang a slice,
While he cried 'barla fummel,[10]
I am slain,'
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

When that he saw his bluid so reid,
To flee micht no man let[11] him;
He would it been for auld done feid;[12]
The far, farar it set him;
He gart his feet defend his heid;
He thocht ane cried, 'have at him!'

[1] Stang, or sting, a long pole. [2] Escaped.
[3] Waggons. [4] Proved.
[5] Hazel-branch. [6] Overthrew. [7] Mice.
[8] No soft fellow. [9] With such wranglers to mix.
[10] Parley. [11] Prevent. [12] Feud.

While he was past out of all pleid,[1]
He suld been swift that gat him,
Through speed,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

The toun soutar in grief was boudin,[2]
His wife hang in his waist:
His body was with bluid all browdin,[3]
He granit like ony ghaist:
Her glittering hair, that was full golden,[4]
So lard in love him lest;[5]
That for her sake he was not yolden,[6]
Seven miles whilk he was chest,
And mair,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

The miller was of manly mak,
To meet him was nae mowis;[7]
There durst not ten cum him to tak,
So nowit he their nowis:[8]

[1] Quarrel, or here it may mean beyond all persuasion.

[2] Swollen.

[3] Besmeared. Literally the word means embroidered.

[4] It is *hir*, not *his* hair, as in Chalmers's edition, which makes nonsense of the passage.

[5] Laced.

[6] Not yielding. The meaning of the passage is a little obscure. But it must be taken in a satirical sense. For his wife's sake he was *yielding* (he did not give in), although he took to his heels, and was chased seven miles and more.

[7] No joke.

[8] Chalmers suspected some error in the MS. here, as he knew of no such old word as *nowis*. It may simply be the word *noit*, pro-

The bushment hail about him brak,
And bickerit[1] him with bowis,
Syne traitorously behind his bak,
They hewit him on the howis,[2]
Behind,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

Twa that were heidinen[3] of the herd,
Ran upon other like rams;
Then followit feymen,[4] richt unaffeird,
Beat on with barrow trams:
But where their gobs were ungaird,[5]
They gat upon the gams;
While bluidy barkit was their beird,
As they had wurriet lambs,
Maist like,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

The wives cast up a hideous yell,
When all thir younkers yokit;
As fierce as ony fireflaucht fell,
Freiks[6] to the field they flockit:
Tua carles with clubs 'goud other quell,
While bluid at breists outbockit;

nounced long, meaning, as an active verb, to strike hardly. *Now* signifies the head. So the poet says, the miller *so hardly struck their heads.*

[1] Skirmished.
[2] Cut him on the houghs.
[3] Not *heidsmen*, as in Chalmers.
[4] Madmen.
[5] Where their mouths were unguarded.
[6] Strong men.

So rudely rang the common bell,
While all the steeple rockit,
For reird,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

When they had berit[1] like baited bulis,
And brainwod brynt in bailis,[2]
They were as meek as ony mulis,
That mangit were with mailis:[3]
For faintness thae forfochten fulis
Fell down like flauchter flailis:[4]
A fresh ane come in and held the dulis,[5]
And dang them doun in dailis,[6]
Bedeen,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

When all was done, Dick, with an aix,
Came furth to fell a fudder;[7]
Quoth he, where are yon hangit smaix,[8]
Right now wad slain my brudder?
His wife bad him gae hame, great glaiks;[9]
And sae did Meg, his muder:

[1] Roared. [2] And brain-mad suffered in sorrow.

[3] Chalmers does not seem to have understood this. The meaning is, they were so bruised (mangit) with wounds (mailis).

[4] Thin sods cut with *flauchter* spades.

[5] Gained the victory, as *hail the dule* in football. Chalmers makes this line read, "Fresh men came in and hailed the dules," but the Bannatyne MS. has it "ane fresh ane," making the satire stronger.

[6] In heaps. [7] To knock down a number. [8] Knaves.

[9] Here Chalmers is again in error. It is not *gub glaiks*, in the

He turn'd, and gave them baith their paiks ;[1]
For he durst ding nane uder,
For fear,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day.

The genius of this poem is altogether peculiar, and vastly superior in sustained drollery to any production of the same age. So is it in construction and poetical accuracy; while it rhymes as smoothly as anything of Burns' in the same measure.[2] "Peblis to the Play" is unquestionably the model, but both stand wholly apart from the great body of the olden poetry of Scotland. The construction of the verse only became familiar by the imitation of Ramsay.

The other poetical effusions attributed to James V. are, "The Gaberlunzie Man," and "The Jollie Beggar." As Drummond tells us, in his time, "many of his works were yet extant;" but in what shape they existed he does not say—whether in MS., print, or orally. We know that "Christ's Kirk on the Green" was preserved both in the Maitland and Bannatyne MSS., but the other two were not

Bannatyne MS., but *grit glaiks*, which means *great fool*; certainly a more appropriate term than "good glaiks."

[1] *Paiks*, a thrashing, is not, as Chalmer's asserts, at all peculiar to the north.

[2] Burns seems, from the number of poems composed in it, to have been fond of this kind of versification.

so fortunate. The first was printed by Dr Percy, in his "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," from a folio manuscript in his possession, written about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is there called "a Scottish song;" but it is evident, from the spelling of many of the words, that it had come through an English channel. The Percy MS. is all in one hand. The writer had probably transcribed chiefly from printed sources. "The Gaberlunzie Man" may, therefore, have run through many broadside editions before it came to be lost sight of in Dr Percy's collection. The second was printed by Allan Ramsay, but from what source is unknown. Pinkerton was of opinion that the adventures might be the King's, but that the ballads were the production of some later poet. He formed this notion from the comparatively modern language in which they are couched. It must, however, be obvious to every one that poetry—more especially ballads and songs—no matter how old, must partake largely of the age in which they are first reduced to writing. Nor is there such wide difference between the language of the sixteenth century and the present time, apart from the orthography. This is perhaps more apparent in charters—where passages of the vernacular occur—than in literary productions, where a sort of classic uniformity was aimed at. As well might it be said that "Squire Meldrum" was not the composition of Sir David Lyndsay, because, in

the course of numerous editions, the spelling and even the language has been modernised, often by unskilful hands. Ballads preserved upon memory have this feature, that they possess more of the elasticity of the living voice, and the age in which they are popular, than written compositions of a similar antiquity. "The Gaberlunzie Man," and "The Jollie Beggar" are instances in point. As to language, they might be classed with the age of Ramsay, who is supposed to have noted down the "The Jollie Beggar" from recitation; but the attentive reader will perceive a manifest resemblance in spirit between them and "Christ's Kirk on the Green."

THE GABERLUNZIE MAN.

The paukie auld carle cam oure the lea,
Wi' mony gude-e'ens and days to me,
Saying, gudewife, for your courtesie,
Will ye lodge a silly puir man?
The nicht was cauld, the carle was wat,
And doun ayont the ingle he sat;
My dochter's shouthers he 'gan to clap,
And cadgily ranted and sang.

O wow! quo he, were I as free,
As first when I saw this countrie,
How blyth and merry wad I be!
And I wad never think lang.

He grew canty, and she grew fain,
But little did her auld minny ken
What thir slee twa thegither were say'n,
When wooing they were sae thrang.

And O! quo he, an ye were as black,
As ever the crown of your daddy's hat,
'Tis I wad lay thee by my back,
And awa' wi' me thou sould gang.
And O! quo she, an I were as white,
As ever the snaw lay on the dyke,
I'd clead me braw, and ladylike,
And awa' wi' thee I'd gang.

Between the twa was made a plot;
They raise a wee before the cock,
And wyliely they shot the lock,
And fast to the bent are they gane.
Upon the morn the auld wife raise,
And at her leisure put on her claes,
Syne to the servant's bed she gaes
To speir for the silly puir man.

She gaed to the bed where the beggar lay,
The strae was cauld, he was away,
She clapt her hands, cried, "Dulefu' day!
For some of our geir will be gane."
Some ran to coffer, and some to kist,
But nought was stown that could be mist,
She danc'd her lane, cried, "Praise be blest,
I have lodged a leal puir man.

" Since naething's awa' that we can learn,
The kirn's to kirn, and milk to earn,[1]
Gae but the house, lass, and wauken my bairn,
And bid her come quickly ben."
The servant gaed where the dochter lay,
The sheets were cauld, she was away,
And fast to her gudewife 'gan say,
" She's aff wi' the Gaberlunzie Man."

" O fy gar ride, and fy gar rin,
And haste ye, find these traitors agen;
For she's be burnt, and he's be slain,
The wearyfu' Gaberlunzie Man."
Some rade upon horse, some ran a fit,
The wife was wud, and out of her wit;
She could na gang, nor yet could she sit,
But aye did curse and did ban.

Meantime far hind out owre the lea,
Fu' snug in a glen, where nane could see,
The twa, with kindly sport and glee,
Cut frae a new cheese a whang.
The preiving was gude, it pleased them baith,
To lo'e her for aye, he gae her his aith;
Quo she, to leave thee, I will be laith,
My winsome Gaberlunzie Man.

O kend my minny I were wi' you,
Illfardly wad she crook her mou,
Sic a puir man she'd never trow,
After the Gaberlunzie Man.

[1] To curdle, by the application of *yirnin earning*, rennet.

My dear, quo he, ye're yet owre young;
And hae na learnt the beggar's tongue,
To follow me frae toun to toun,
And carry the Gaberlunzie[1] on.

Wi' kauk and keel, I'll win your bread,
And spindles and whorles for them wha need,
Whilk is a gentle trade indeed,
The Gaberlunzie to carry O.
I'll bow my leg and crook my knee,
And draw a black clout owre my e'e,
A cripple or blind they will ca' me,
While we sall sing and be merry O.

The language of this song might not date it farther back than a hundred years; but the fact of its having been found in the Percy MS. carries it much beyond that point. The framework, the incident, if not the sentiment, are all of a long bygone period. If some object to the last verse:

"I'll bow my leg, and crook my knee,
An' draw a black clout o'er my e'e,"

as too descriptive of modern vagrancy to have been the idea of James V., it must be recollected that the craft of idle begging was carried to a great extent long before his time. Dunbar, writing about 1500, says to the "Merchants of Edinburgh"—

"Your burgh of beggars is ane nest,
To shout thae sweyngeours will not rest,
All honest folk they do molest,
Sae piteously they cry and rame."

[1] The wallet.

Equally conceived in the olden spirit is

THE JOLLIE BEGGAR.

There was a jollie beggar, and a begging he was boun',
And he took up his quarters into a 'hndart toun.
And we'll gang nae mair a roving
Sae late into the nicht;
And we'll gang nae mair a roving, boys,
Let the moon shine ne'er so bricht.

He wad neither lie in barn, nor yet wad he in byre,
But in ahint the ha' door, or else afore the fire.
And we'll gang, &c.

The beggar's bed was made at e'en wi' gude clean straw and hay,
And in ahint the ha' door, and there the beggar lay.
And we'll gang, &c.

Upraise the gudeman's dochter, and for to bar the door,
And there she saw the beggar a-standing i' the floor.
And we'll gang, &c.

He took the lassie in his arms, and to the bed he ran;
O hooly, hooly wi' me, sir, ye'll wauken our gudeman.
And we'll gang, &c.

The beggar was a cunning loon, and ne'er a word he spak,
Till he gat his turn done, syne he began to crack.
And we'll gang, &c.

Is there ony dogs into this town? maiden, tell me true;
And what wad ye do wi' them, my hinny and my dow?
And we'll gang, &c.

They'll rive a' my meal pocks, and do me meikle wrang.
O dool for the doing o't! are ye the puir man?
And we'll gang, &c.

Then she took up the meal pocks, and flang them at the wa';
The deil gae wi' the meal pocks, my maidenhead and a'.
And we'll gang, &c.

I took ye for some gentleman, at least the Laird o' Brodie.[1]
O dool for the doing o't! are ye the poor bodie?
And we'll gang, &c.

He took the lassie in his arms, and gae her kisses three,
And four-and-twenty hunder merk, to pay the nurice fee.
And we'll gang, &c.

He took a horn frae his side, and blew baith loud and shrill,
And four-and-twenty belted knights came skipping o'er the hill.
And we'll gang, &c.

And he took out his little knife, loot a' his duddies fa',
And he was the brawest gentleman that stood amang them a'.
And we'll gang, &c.

[1] Brodie of that Ilk. He was probably well known at court, hence the joke.

The beggar was a clever loon, and he lap shoulder hicht,
O aye for siccan quarters as I gat yesternicht.
And we'll gang, &c.

That this ballad was founded on a real adventure seems unquestionable. It is no doubt objectionable on the score of morality; yet, considering the latitude of the times, the "thread of blue" is delicately interwoven; while the archness of its humour goes far to palliate it. With slight omissions it was sung, with great applause, to fashionable audiences, by the late John Wilson, the Scottish vocalist, and by Mr Templeton. Much more indelicate ballads were common in the days of Burns. Speaking of the song, Sir Walter Scott says, "the Jolly Beggar is perhaps the best comic ballad in any language." It is evident, from Lyndsay's reply to the "King's Flyting," that the poetic vein of the royal author ran in the spirit of these ballads. In "Christ's Kirk on the Green," to be sure, there is nothing offensive in a moral point of view; but its fun is the fun of the peasantry in a rude age, and the scene is broadly and truthfully described. James, like his father, had a number of illegitimate children. History records six sons and one daughter, all by ladies of rank — amongst whom were Margaret, daughter of John, twelfth Lord Erskine, mother of the Regent Murray, afterwards the wife of Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven; Elizabeth Shaw

of Sauchy; Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Lennox; and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Carmichael. In the Treasurer's Accounts there are several entries in reference to these ladies and the children: "April 2, 1532, Item, to Henry Kemp, quhilkis be debursit for the Kingis sone, gotten upon Elizabeth Schaw, and his nurise expensis, xx. lib." This was *Robert*, third son of James, afterwards abbot of Kelso and Melrose.[1] "Feb. 18, 1537, Item, to be ane schort coit to Lord James, vj. quarteris blak satyne, price of the elne xxx s. xlv s." This was James, afterwards the famous Earl of Murray. "Oct. 22, 1534. Item, to be ane gowne to the Kingis grâcis dochter [Lady Jane] iij. elnis veluet, price thairof the elne lij s. *summa*, viij lib. xvj s." A number of other articles were provided for her at this time.

Bastardy in these days did not carry the same brand as it does in our own. It certainly was debarred from succession, but otherwise it interfered little with the social position of the parties. James inherited his disposition to gallantry from both sides of the house; and it would be absurd to attempt any mitigation of his character in this respect, or,

[1] He was a pupil of George Buchanan. He had a charter, Oct. 8, 1534, of the estates forfeited by the Earl of Angus. "April 12, 1533, Item, to L. L., be the King's command, i c lib." This is supposed to have been Lady Lochleven. The same entry frequently occurs. "July 26, Item, to Williame Vdwart be the Kingis precept, be Dauid Bonar, for claise tane fra (bought from) him be the Kingis command to ane gentill woman ('S. D.')"

perhaps, to blame the Douglas faction for corrupting the morals of the young King, as Sir David Lyndsay plainly informs us. Indeed, in an age when the highest functionaries of the church openly set their vows of celibacy at defiance, and when almost every baron in the land could have been brought before the consistorial courts, it was hardly to be supposed that a prince, with so many court sycophants ready to anticipate his wishes, and profit by his weakness, should have turned out a paragon of virtue.

Pinkerton says he was "a prince who delighted in low manners and adventures so much, as often to disguise himself in order to enjoy them." This is a narrow-minded assumption. That James delighted in low manners, because he relished vulgarity, is contradicted by his love of literature, music, and the arts, and the fact of his being a poet of no ordinary genius. As already remarked, he mixed amongst the peasantry that he might know their wants, study their character, and delineate their manners. He patronised the amusements of the people; and one of his great aims was to elevate them, while he circumscribed the proud and rapacious barons. Hence his endearing title of "the King of the Commons." Nor could he understand their circumstances better than by occasionally taking part, incognito, in their fireside gossip. And, with few exceptions, was the lord more learned than the peasant. It was only in the previous reign that an act was passed ordaining the

great landholders to send their eldest sons to school. "Swa that if they should become scheriffes or judge ordinaries, they might have knowledge to read and expound the written laws to the puir ignorant people." The higher classes of these days were no doubt better exercised in those chivalrous and knightly accomplishments considered indispensable; but when James disguised himself as a gaberlunzie, or a wandering minstrel, and "ranted and sang" at the peasant's fireside overnight, he mixed with people equally learned with the generality of the barons, and, from dear-bought experience, knew that they were infinitely more honest and loyal.

Of the King's nocturnal adventures much has been said in a general way; but particulars are sadly wanting. The incidents in "the Gaberlunzie" and "the Jolly Beggar," are in all likelihood founded upon real occurrences. Tradition has furnished the romancer with the groundwork of many stories in which the King figures as a principal character; but it would be in vain attempting to trace their foundation in truth. When travelling incognito, he generally assumed the title of the "Gudeman of Ballangeich,"[1] from a steep path leading to the town of Stirling, on the north-west side of the Castle, which still bears the name. *Gudeman* was usually

[1] "The proper name is probably *Ballochgicch*, as in Nimmo's History of Stirling; but *Ballangeich* is the usual mode of pronouncing the word. It means the stormy or windy pass.

applied to a class of small proprietors who held, not from the crown, but from a vassal. But James did not always travel for the purposes of gallantry and the love of personal adventure. The administration of justice was frequently dealt summarily and effectively under the cloak of adventure, and he has sometimes been known to attack banditti singly, or, at least, with a few of his courtly attendants. Sir Walter Scott has very happily introduced the King, as traditionally portrayed, in the "Lady of the Lake," in which the famous single fight occurs between him as Fitzjames, and Rhoderick Dhu.

Another tradition has been wrought into the excellent little drama of *Cramond Brig*, by the late Mr Murray of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. The character of the King is here brought fairly into play—his love of justice as well as his love of adventure, although perhaps the dramatist may have twisted the tradition a little to suit the purposes of morality and effect. Scott, in his notes to the "Lady of the Lake," relates the circumstances somewhat differently, making the King the suitor of the pretty girl. "Four or five persons," he says, "whether relations or lovers of his mistress is uncertain, beset the disguised monarch, as he returned from his rendezvous. Naturally gallant, and an admirable master of his weapon, the king took post on the high and narrow bridge over the Almond river, and defended himself bravely with his sword. A peasant,

who was thrashing in a neighbouring barn, came out upon the noise, and, whether moved by compassion, or by natural gallantry, took the weaker side, and laid about with his flail so effectually, as to disperse the assailants, well thrashed, even according to the latter. He then conducted the King into his barn, where his guest requested a basin and towel, to remove the stains of the broil. This being procured with difficulty, James employed himself in learning what was the summit of his deliverer's earthly wishes, and found that they were bounded by the desire of possessing, in property, the farm of Braehead, upon which he laboured as a bondsman. The lands chanced to belong to the Crown, and James directed him to come to the palace of Holyrood, and inquire for the "Gudeman of Ballangeich." He presented himself accordingly, and found, with due astonishment, that he had saved his monarch's life, and that he was to be gratified with a crown-charter of the lands of Braehead, under the service of presenting a ewer, basin, and towel, for the King to wash his hands, when he should happen to pass the Bridge of Cramond."

The Howiesons of Braehead, whose representatives still possess the property, hold it upon the tenure represented, and this service was performed by William Howieson Crawfurd, younger of Braehead, when George IV. visited Scotland in 1822. The supporters in the arms of the Howiesons are

two husbandmen: one holding a flail, and the other a basin and napkin. The Howiesons, however, date back to a remoter period than James V. John Howieson was a burgess of Edinburgh in 1450; and James Howieson had a charter of Cramond Regis in 1465. In the reign of James V., when the incident occurred with the banditti, and when he was so timeously and effectively assisted by "Jock Howieson" and his flail, the Howiesons seem to have held King's Cramond from the Crown. The gift conferred at this time may have consisted of the lands and croft in the burgh of Cramond, of which John Howieson had a charter of confirmation from James VI. in 1579.

Buchanan of Auchmar, in his "Essay upon the Family of Buchanan," tells the following story:

"This John Buchanan of Auchmar and Arnpryor was afterwards termed King of Kippen,[1] upon the following account: King James V., a very sociable, debonair prince, residing at Stirling, in Buchanan of Arnpryor's time, carriers were very frequently passing along the common road, being near Arnpryor's house, with necessaries for the King's family, and he having some extraordinary occasion, ordered one of these carriers to leave his load at his house, and he would pay him for it;

[1] Kippen is in Stirlingshire, but Arnpyor is in that portion of Perthshire which pushes itself into Stirlingshire, about eleven miles from the castle.

which the carrier refused to do, telling him he was the King's carrier, and his load for his majesty's use; to which Arnpryor seemed to have small regard, compelling the carrier, in the end, to leave his load; telling him, if King James was King of Scotland, he was King of Kippen, so that it was reasonable he should share with his neighbour king in some of these loads, so frequently carried that road. The carrier representing this usage, and telling the story, as Arnpryor spoke it, to some of the King's servants, it came at length to his majesty's ears, who, shortly thereafter, with a few attendants, came to visit his neighbouring king, who was in the meantime at dinner. King James having sent a servant to demand access, was denied the same by a tall fellow with a battle-axe, who stood porter at the gate, telling there could be no access till dinner was over. This answer not satisfying the King, he sent to demand access a second time; upon which he was desired by the porter to desist, otherwise he would find cause to repent his rudeness. His majesty finding this method would not do, desired the porter to tell his master that the Good-man of Ballageigh desired to speak with the King of Kippin. The porter telling Arnpryor so much, he, in all humble manner, came and received the King, and having entertained him with much sumptuousness and jollity, became so agreeable to King James, that he allowed him to take so much

of any provision he found carrying that road as he had occasion for; and, seeing he made the first visit, desired Arnpryor in a few days to return him a second at Stirling, which he performed, and continued in very much favour with the King, always thereafter being termed King of Kippen while he lived."

Such anecdotes as these illustrate the true character of the King—kind, jocular, and condescending, when the feuds and cabals of the nobility permitted him the pleasure of unbending. Another equally characteristic story of the "Gudeman of Ballangeich" is told by Alexander Campbell, from the old *Statistical Account of Scotland*, and which Sir Walter Scott quotes in his notes to "The Lady of the Lake":—"Being once benighted, when out hunting, and separated from his attendants, he happened to enter a cottage in the midst of a moor, at the foot of the Ochil Hills, near Alloa, where, unknown, he was kindly received. In order to regale their unexpected guest, the *gudeman* (*i. e.* landlord), desired the *gudewife* to fetch the hen that roosted nearest the cock, which is always the plumpest, for the stranger's supper. The King, highly pleased with his night's lodging and hospitable entertainment, told mine host, at parting, that he should be glad to return his civility, and requested that the first time he came to Stirling he would call at the Castle, and inquire for the 'Gudeman

of Ballangeich.' Donaldson, the landlord, did not fail to call on the 'Gudeman of Ballangeich,' when his astonishment at finding that the King had been his guest afforded no small amusement to the merry monarch and his courtiers; and, to carry on the pleasantry, he was thenceforth designated by James with the title of King of the Moors, which name and designation have descended from father to son ever since, and they have continued in possession of the identical spot, the property of Mr Erskine of Mar, till very lately, when this gentleman, with reluctance, turned out the descendant and representative of the King of the Moors, on account of his majesty's invincible indolence, and great dislike to reform or innovation of any kind, although, from the spirited example of his neighbour-tenants on the same estate, he is convinced similar exertion would promote his advantage."

It was from such stories as these that Sir Walter Scott drew the portraiture of King James in his beautiful poem of "The Lady of the Lake," more particularly the audience scene, where Ellen Douglas, like the "King of the Moors," or "Jock Howieson," is overwhelmed to find that her chivalrous friend was no other than the King himself:

"Within 'twas brilliant all and light,
A thronging scene of figures bright;
It glowed on Ellen's dazzled sight,
As when the setting sun has given

Ten thousand hues to summer even,
And, from their tissue, fancy frames
Aërial knights and fairy dames.
Still by Fitz-James her footing staid;
A few faint steps she forward made,
When slow her drooping head she raised,
And fearful round the presence gazed;
For him she sought who owned this state,
The dreaded prince, whose will was fate!
She gazed on many a princely port,
Might well have ruled a royal court;
On many a splendid garb she gazed,—
Then turned bewildered and amazed,
For all stood bare; and in the room,
Fitz-James alone wore cap and plume.
To him each lady's look was lent,
On him each courtier's eye was bent;
'Midst furs and silks and jewels sheen,
He stood, in simple Lincoln green,
The centre of the glittering ring,—
And Snowdoun's Knight is Scotland's King!"

As Pinkerton observes, he was the Zerbino of Ariosto.

In the *New Statistical Account*, the minister of the parish of Collessie relates the following as an authentic anecdote of James V.[1] From its proximity to Falkland, the parish is said to have been "the scene of some of the eccentric feats and

[1] It is printed James VI. in the *Statistical*; but this is evidently a mistake, as that monarch never risked himself in such adventures. He was much given to drinking, however, and a tradition is told of him at Falkland, where he was residing at the time, that having got *fou* at the Lomond Law, he was incapable of riding, and had to be brought home to the palace in a cart.

munificent acts of that facetious prince." "It is related," says the clergyman, "that in the disguise, which he often assumed, of a poor travelling man, he knocked one evening at the door of the miller's house of Ballomill. After some little difficulty he obtained quarters for the night. He joined the circle round the miller's fireside, and partook of their social glee, as well as of their homely cheer. The miller's frank and honest bearing gained upon the good opinion of the King; his hospitality and kindness increasing as he became more intimate with the stranger. In the morning, accompanying his unknown guest, in familiar conversation, to the extremity of the farm, they were met, according to previous appointment, by the royal guards. The miller then saw, with astonishment, that he had the honour of entertaining the King. At parting, to reward his hospitality, and at the same time to try his knowledge of fractions, his majesty asked the miller, whether he would have the fourth part, or the eighth part, or the sixteenth part of the lands on which they stood. The miller pondered a little a question so important, and said to himself, to ask the sixteenth part would be over greedy, to ask the fourth part would be cheating mysel', I'll e'en strike between the twa, and ask the aught. In consequence of this decision, the eighth part of the lands of Ballomill was measured off to him, which long remained in the miller's

family. The description in the title-deed still runs —'all and whole of the one-eighth part of the lands of Ballomill.' The royal charter by which it was conveyed, is still preserved in the parish."

This anecdote bears some resemblance to the incidents of "The Jollie Beggar," with the "four-and-twenty belted knights coming skipping o'er the hill."

CHAPTER IX.

THE KING'S MARRIAGE TRIP TO FRANCE.

JAMES had now attained his twenty-fourth year, and entertained serious thoughts of marriage. Various overtures had been made to him by his Council on the subject. Fears were entertained that, in consequence of his adventurous and romantic mode of life, he might be prematurely cut off, without leaving a legitimate heir to the crown. In that case, the Duke of Albany, now old and infirm, alone stood between the Hamiltons and the throne. Some years previously, Henry had been intriguing that, like his father, he should take a *rose* from England; Charles V. urged the claims of his niece, the Princess of Denmark, with the principality of Norway as

her dowry; while Spain spoke of the Princess Mary of Portugal, niece of the Spanish King. But neither James nor his Parliament gave much ear to any of these proposals. Meanwhile, the Scottish ambassadors in France had arranged the preliminaries of a marriage between the King and Marie de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke de Vendôme.[1] Finding the influence of Henry exerted against his marriage, both at his own and the French court, James resolved upon paying a private visit to France in person. He accordingly sailed with a small retinue; but, encountering a gale, and having gone to sleep, he was surprised, on awaking, to find himself close to the Scottish coast. The Hamiltons were against the marriage, and it is said that Sir James Hamilton, the bastard of Arran, who was on board, seized the helm, and put the vessel about.

This mishap only stimulated the King to a more open undertaking. He resolved to go publicly, and with a proper following. Archbishops Beaton, Dunbar, the Earls of Eglinton, Montrose, and Huntly, with Lord Maxwell, were appointed a regency to manage the kingdom in his absence. Everything being in readiness, the King made a

[1] The ambassadors appear to have been the Abbot of Kinloss, the Lords High Treasurer and Secretary. In December (?) 1535 there was paid to George Wallace, "for outredding of the Kingis gracis schip towart Deip, and fra thyne to Burdeous, payand his marynaris half hyre in hand, and the remanent in Deip; as the said George compt particularlye beris, icxij lib. iiij s. xd."

pilgrimage from Stirling Castle to the Hermitage of Loretto at Musselburgh, by way of propitiating the Virgin in favour of his matrimonial intentions. This celebrated chapel was founded "in honour of God and the Virgin Mary," in 1533. "In this mene tyme," says the "Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents," "thair come ane heremeit, callit Thomas Douchtie, in Scotland, quha haid bein lang capitane befoir the Turk, as was allegit, and brocht ane ymage of our Lady with him, and foundit the chappel of Laureit, besyid Musselburgh." It would appear that Thomas was a native of Musselburgh, and on bringing home the image from Loretto, in Italy, he obtained a grant from the magistrates of a piece of waste land, beyond the east gate, opposite Pinkie House, and there built the chapel. He obtained a charter confirmatory of this grant from James V., in 1534.[1] Thomas, though an arrant rogue, pretended to great holiness himself, and the worship of the image was supposed to be most efficacious in all cases which concerned the sisterhood. Bishop Leslie is the only historian who mentions the pilgrimage of James to Loretto. It occurred, he says, in 1536, and was performed on foot. It is to be regretted that Leslie gives no particulars as to whether the King went alone, or was accompanied by a retinue. It can hardly be considered so much an act of devotion or of faith as of romantic feeling

[1] See History of the Regality of Musselburgh.

on the part of the youthful monarch, according himself to the superstitious ideas of the time. It proved highly in favour of the hermit. Loretto became famous for pilgrimages of both sexes, and, immediately prior to the Reformation, was notorious for its fashionable assignations.

From the Criminal Records, it appears that the provost, bailies, and community of Perth, were bound to keep safely and surely their Spey Tour, and all other strengths and fortalices within the burgh at their own expense until the King's return. The bond is dated July 24, 1536. So also John Hume of Coldingknows, William Stewart of Traquair, and Thomas Ker of the Yare, became surety for Katherine Rutherfurd, Lady Traquair, that she would keep good rule, and specially not to write or send writings to the Douglasses, or intercommune with them in any manner of way; and that she would enter herself in ward at the King's pleasure, under the penalty of £2000. Lady Traquair was the widow of James Stewart, the founder of the family, and mother of William, who was one of her sureties.

Prayer having been publicly put up throughout the country for his Majesty's safe return,[1] the King sailed from Leith on the 1st September, with a

[1] Nov. 2, 1536. Item, deliuerit to Schir Henry Balfoure, chaplane, to be given in almouse to the pure housbalderis to pray for the Kingis Gracis prosperous returning."—*Treas. Accounts.*

squadron of seven vessels. On the tenth day he arrived at Dieppe.

Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, lion-herald and familiar of the King, accompanied his Majesty. The following minute and curious account of what passed in France, from the pen of Lindsay of Pitscottie, who no doubt had the particulars from his friend the lion-king, may be considered truthful. He says:

"After this, the King of Scotland and his nobles being landed, they took the port to Paris, where they remained short while, while [until] he past to the Duke of Vendosme, where he [the French King] was for the time; but the King of Scotland would not shew himself openly at that time, but disguised himself as he had been a servant, to be unknown to the Duke or his wife, or to the gentlewoman who should have been his spouse, thinking to spy her in her pulchritude and behaviour unkend by her. Notwithstanding, this fair lady took suspicion that the King of Scotland should be in the company, wherefore she past to her coffer, and took out his picture, whilk she had gotten out of Scotland by a secret mean; and as soon as she looked to the picture, it made her know the King of Scotland incontinent where he stood among the rest of his company, and past presently to him, and took him by the hand, and said, 'Sir, ye stand over far aside; therefore, if it please your grace, yo

may shew yourself to my father or me, and confer and pass the time awhile.' The King hearing this, was a little astonished that he had disguised himself to be unknown, and syne was so hastily known. Yet, seeing he was so hastily known to them all, he past to the Duke of Vendosme, and took him in his arms, and the Duke again gave him due reverence as affeired, and was greatumlie rejoiced of his presence, and so was all the Duke's company; and also the King past to the Duchess and kissed her, and also her dochter, and syne excused himself why he was so long unknown to them, desired their pardon therefor; but he was soon forgiven. Then there was nothing but merriness, banqueting, and great cheer, and lovely communing betwixt the King's grace and the fair ladies, with great music and playing on instruments, and all other kind of pastime for the fields, with lutes, shalmes,[1] trumpets, and organs, with all kind of melodious instruments; with jousting and running of great horses; which pastimes were all to delight the King of Scotland; for the Duke prepared a fine palace to the King, decored with all costly ornaments. The walls thereof were decored and hung with tapestry of gold, and wrought with silk; the floor thereof all laid with green frieze, and a pall of gold all set with precious stones, set above the King's head when he sat at his meet; and all the halls and chambers

[1] Shalme, a kind of pipe, or hautboy.

were perfumed with sweet odours, very delectable to the senses of men.

"The King was greatly honoured there by the Duke of Vendosme for the space of eight days, in great joy and merriness, during the which space many love tokens past between the King and the Duke's dochter, which were very costly jewels as might be gotten in any part for gold or silver. But the King and Council thought it expedient to speak nothing of marriage at that time, until he had spoken with the King of France; considering he was within his realm, he would shew him his mind, and have his counsel thereintill or he concluded in that matter. Therefore, the King past in haste to the King of France, where he was for the time at hunting, accompanied with his wife, his son, and his dochter, with many other lusty ladies, besides Dukes, Earls, Lords, and Barons. But when they heard tell that the King of Scotland was coming in proper person in their presence, they were all greatly rejoiced, and marvelled much of the King of Scotland's taking the sea in sic venture, considering the brokenness of the seas, and great enemies on every side. Also they marvelled much of his great diligence in taking the port and coming unto them without fear of anything that might happen for the time. So, as soon as the Dauphin of France saw the King of Scotland, he ran and gat him in his arms, and shew him that the King, his father, would

be greatumlie rejoiced of his coming, considering how it stood with him; for a little before, his eldest son, who was Duke of Orleans, was poisoned in a chapel by an Italian, whereat the King of France was heavily displeased. But the coming of the King of Scotland, and the said Dauphin came where the King lay at an afternoon's sleep in a chamber, at the door of the whilk his son, the Dauphin, rapped very rudely, which moved the King himself to inquire who it was that rapped so to unquiet him. The Dauphin answered, "Sir, it is the King of Scotland come to see your grace, and to comfort you." The King of France hearing this, raise him from his bed, and opened the door himself, and received the King of Scotland in his arms, thanking God that he had tane one son from him, and sent him a sight and meeting of that noble prince, whom he would esteem as his own son, gotten of his own body, and gave command to the Dauphin to await upon the King of Scotland, and to serve and reverence him as his eldest brother, and see that sic servants as were with him were entertained according to their estate. But the King of France tarried no longer there, but caused sound his trumpets, and all men to horse, and also he caused get fresh horses to the King of Scotland. That night they rode to a palace called . . . . and there remained that night.

"This meantime the King of Scotland oversaw not to give due reverence to the Queen, with the

rest of her dames, and in special to Magdalene, the King's dochter, who was riding in a chariot, because she was sickly, and might not ride upon horse. Yet, notwithstanding all her sickness and malice (uneasiness) from the time she saw the King of Scotland, and spake with him, and loved him so well, that she would have no man alive to be her husband but he allanerlie (alone.)"

Interrupting the narrative of Pitscottie for a moment, we may here quote Ronsard, the French poet's description, of James at this period:

> "In flower of age, the Scottish King appears,
> His golden locks down-waving pensively[1]
> Even to his shoulders, o'er his milky neck.
> Of virtue, honour, war, enamoured.
> With mingled power and gentleness his features glow,
> Of Venus and of Mars alike beloved."

"But," continues Pitscottie, "the Councils both of Scotland and France liked nothing thereof (the love of Magdalene); for they were certified be doctors and physicians that no succession would come of his body by reason of her long sickness, and that she was not able to travel out of the realm to no other country, which if she did, she would not have long days. Yet, notheless, the ardent love that this gentlewoman bore to the King of Scotland, caused her father, the King of France, consent unto her

[1] His hair was of a bright-auburn colour; so was that of his daughter, Queen Mary.

marriage with the King of Scotland; and to that effect desired the King of Scotland to the same, who consented hastily thereto; for the love he bore to the King of France. Also, he knew that there was great profit and friendship to be gotten at the King of France hands, and syne the gentlewoman being his eldest dochter, he thought it was not good to him to refuse that honourable offer. So, as I have said, the King of Scotland consented to marry her, which after, when he came to Paris, was triumphantly solemnised in that city. That is, the King and Council of France on the one part, and the King of Scotland, with the most part of the nobility on the other part, in form and effect as after follows: that is to say, the King of Scotland should take to wife and marry, in presence of God and his holy kirk, Magdalene, eldest dochter to the King of France; to treat her and honour her according to her estate and noble birth, whereof she is descended, and give her sic lordships in conjunct fie as became her honourable estate. And also the old bond betwixt Scotland and France should be ratified and renewed again betwixt these two kings, to endure and stand for ever, likeas it was first contracted by their predecessors; and farther, for this cause, for the love that the King of France bore to the King of Scotland, he should deliver to him with his dochter, within year and day immediately following, all and haill the sum of one hundred thousand

crowns, besides any other thing, or any other pleasure that the King of Scotland would desire of him.

"The principal heads of the contract being formed in this manner, the King of Scotland sent for many of his lords and barons to come to him, and honour him in the solemnizing of his marriage, and to be present at Paris the day appointed, for the honour of Scotland, as they would do him special honour and service. These letters being seen by the lords of Scotland, both spiritual and temporal, they were greatumlie rejoiced thereat, and so many as the King writ for to France to his grace, addressed themselves hastily to come to him, every one very well furnished and attired according to their estates; and they that passed to France were six earls, six lords, six bishops, and twenty great barons, which might best pass for the time. And when they came to Paris at the day appointed, they were heartily received by the King of France, and Council thereof, and well entertained, every man according as behoved his estate; and also the King of Scotland was richt rejoiced when he saw his subjects so obedient to do him honour and service. This being done, the marriage was solemnized in the city of Paris, in Notorodamus Kirk, about the tenth hour of the day, in presence of God and that honourable congregation, which were the King of France, his nobility and council, on the one part; and the King of Scotland, his nobility and council

on the other part, whose names were tedious to rehearse; for there was never sic solemnity nor sic nobility seen in France in one day, as was at that time there."

Pitscottie forgets to tell us that the marriage took place on New-year's Day 1537, and that the King of Navarre and seven cardinals, to mark the approval of Rome, were present, besides numerous illustrious foreigners.

"For through all France that day there was jousting and running of horses proclaimed, with all other manly exercise, as also skirmishing of ships, through all the coasts and friths; so that in towns, lands, seas, firths, villages, castles, and towers, there was no man that might have heard for the rerd and noise of cannons and other munition, nor scarcely have seen for the vapours thereof. There was also within the toun of Paris, cunning carvers, and profound necromancers, who by their wit caused things appear which were not, as follows: fowls flying in the air, spouting fire on others, rivers of water running through the town, and ships fighting thereupon. These conceits were made to the great wonder of such as tended to the furthsetting and solemnizing of that day, to do the King of Scotland and the King of France, their masters, honour and pleasure. After this triumph was ended, the King of Scotland sought leave to pass home to his own country, with his new queen and his nobility;

and the King of France, seeing that the King of Scotland and his spouse would depart home to their own country, incontinent he gart prepare ships and gallies, with victuals and artillery, with captains and companies of men of war, to convoy the King of Scotland, his son-in-law, and his dochter Magdalene, through the seas, that they were safely preserved by thame till they came to their own country; and also he gart prepare two great ships with cannons and culverings, with hagbuts of found and cross-bows, with all other ordinance and weapons. When these ships were well prepared, the King of France presented them to the King of Scotland, to use them as he thought good: which ships remained in Scotland a long time thereafter; the one of them was called the *Sallamander*, and the other the *Morischer*. The King of Scotland had two of his own at that time; the one of them was called the *Marriovillibe*, and the other called the *Great Lyon*, which were the principal ships that brought the King and Queen through the sea. After this the King of France caused his master stabler pass to his cure [where were his great horses, and wail twenty of the best of them, and bairdit[1] them with harness, and presented them to the King of Scotland. And farther, he caused his armourer go to his guardhouse, and take out twenty stand of overgilt enammelled harness, syne he called upon

[1] Adorned with trappings.

his dochter Magdalene, the Queen of Scotland, and, caused her pass to his wardrobe, with her gentlewoman and ladies, and take her stickis[1] of cloth of gold, velvet, and satins, &c., as she pleased to cloath her and her Maries, or any other tapestry of pall or robes that she could find in his wardrobe. Hereafter he gave her rings, tablets, with many other costly jewels; so that this young queen brought an infinite substance in Scotland with her.

"After this the King of Scotland took his leave of the King of France, the Queen, court, and hail nobility thereof: and so did his young queen, Magdalene, and came to the Newhaven of Diepe, and there remained a day or two till the wind was fair. So they embarked, and pulled up sails, and came swiftly through the seas, and landed the fifth day in Leith, with all the navy, which were about the number of fifty ships of Scotsmen, Frenchmen, and strangers, that convoyed the King through the seas. And when the Queen was come upon Scottish earth, she bowed her down to the same, and kissed the mould thereof, and thanked God that her husband and she were come safe through the seas. Thereafter, they passed to the Abbey of Holyrood house, there to remain, while the triumph of her arrival and welcome home were made: which began to provide in all parts of Scotland, and specially in Edinburgh, and other head burghs, which were all

[1] Pieces.

commanded to make provision for the Queen's receipt. But this great triumph and great merriness was soon turned to dolour and lamentation; for the Queen deceased the same day that her grace landed, which made a dolorous lamentation, that was made in burghs; for triumph and merriness was all turned in dirges and soul-masses, which was very lamentable to behold.

"But we will let her rest with God, and return again to the Duke of Vendosme's dochter, who took such displeasure at the King of Scotland's marriage, that she deceased immediately thereafter, whereat the King of Scotland was highly displeased, thinking that he was the occasion of that gentlewoman's death."

Pitscottie is in error in stating that the Queen died the same day she landed. The royal squadron arrived at Leith on the 19th May 1537, and she survived till the 7th July following. Her reception was enthusiastic in the extreme, and great preparations were made to celebrate her public entry and coronation. The Treasurer's Accounts shew the accuracy of the above dates: March 6, 1537, the King being still in France, the pursuivants and messengers have large payments to pass with letters to the barons, &c., "for thair honest preparing agane the Kingis gracis hame-cuming." "May 25, 1537. Item, siclik letteris to the Scheriffis of Edinburghe, principall, and within the constabulary of

Hadingtoune and Berwic for the convocatioun of the barronis to the Quenis grace entry in Edinburge and coronatioune; and to his wage, xx lib."

The illness of the Queen had for some time been so obviously fatal as to suspend the preparations for her coronation, and when the hour of her demise arrived, no time was lost in directing the national grief into right channels. Never was the death of a queen so universally lamented. High expectations had been formed from the union, and the youth, beauty, and sudden death of Magdalene not only affected the King deeply, but his whole people. For the first time, so far as is known, Scotland went into national mourning. The demand for black cloth was consequently extreme. According to the Treasurer's Accounts, a pursuivant was sent to Dundee, ordering the people of that city to bring all their fabrics of black to Edinburgh: "July 7, 1536. Item, to ane pursyvant, to pass till Dunde to charge the inhabitantis thairof to bring ther blackis to Edinburgh, incontinent, for the Quenis tyrement (interment) xv s." Glasgow had no existence as a commercial city at this time, and Dundee appears to have been the only burgh where a stock of black cloths was to be found. In the Treasurer's Accounts there is a long roll of expenses incurred in connection with the funeral ceremony. Immense quantities of Black "Scottish claith," and "Franche Black," were purchased for "gownis, coitis, and

hudis," and "bonnettis," &c., to the retainers and servants of the court. The Queen's funeral pall cost £85, 13s. 9d. A great many coats of arms, large and small, were provided for the pall and canopy. The King, amongst numerous other articles, had a "coat with sleeves," of fine Paris black, price of the ell £3—in all, £11, 5s.; a riding-coat and shoes of the same material; a riding-gown with a hood; a riding-cloak; a pair of hose and mail; a dule (mourning) coat and hood, all of Paris black. He also had a saddle, covered with black, "of the new fashion," and a harnessing of black of the French fashion. The Queen's nine pages and lackeys were clothed with black doublets, hose, and bonnets. The chapel, where the interment of the Queen took place, was hung with black. On the 24th July, after the funeral, four hundred pounds were given to the French men and women, the attendants of the Queen, at their departure. The sum expended by the Treasurer, between the 4th of June and 28th September 1537, amounted to £4737, 18s. 1d. Part of this, no doubt, was incurred for coats-of-mail and arms intended for the tournaments in celebration of the Queen's coronation; and some small sums in expenses incidental to the government, but most of it must be set down to the funeral. The total expense of the King, while on his matrimonial visit to France, was £7949, 7s. 7d.

Sir David Lyndsay, in his "Deploratioun of Quene Magdalene," affords some idea of the national display intended in honour of the Queen's arrival and coronation:

"O traitor Death! whom nane may contramand,
Thou micht have seen the preparation
Made be the three estates of Scotland,
With great comfort and consolation,
In ever ilk city, castle, tower and town,
And how ilk noble set his hail intent
To be excellent in habilzement.

Thief! saw thou not the great preparatives
Of Edinburgh, the noble, famous town,
Thou saw the people, labouring for their lives
To make triumph, with trump and clarion;
Sic pleasure never was into this region,
As suld have been the day of her entrace,[1]
With great propynis[2] given till her grace.

Thou saw making richt costly scaffolding,
Depainted weel, with gold and azure fine,
Ready preparit for the upsetting,
With fountains, flowing water clear, and wine,
Disagysit folks,[3] like creatures divine,
On ilk scaffold, to play a sundry story,
But all in greeting turnit thou that glory.

Thou saw many a lusty, fresh galland,
Weel ordered for receiving of their queen:
Ilk craftsman, with bent bow in his hand,
Full galzeartlie[4] in short clothing of green;
The honest burgess, clad thou suld have seen,

[1] Entrance. [2] Presents.
[3] Actors, to perform in the mysteries on the stages.
[4] Gallantly.

Some in scarlet, and some in cloth of grane,[1]
For till have met their lady sovereign.

Provost, bailies, and lords of the town,
The senators, in order consequent,
Clad into silk of purpure, black and brown;
Syne the great lords of the Parliament,
With many knichtlie baron and baurent,[2]
In silk and gold, in colours comfortable;
But, thou, alas! all turnit into sable.

Syne all the lords of religion,
And princes of priests venerable,
Full pleasantly in their procession,
With all the cunning clerks honourable;
But, theftuously, thou tyrant treasonable!
All their great solace, and solemnities,
Thou turnit intil doleful dirigies.

Syne next in order passing through the town,
Thou suld have heard the din of instruments,
Of tabron, trumpet, schalm, and clarion,
With reird[3] redounding through the elements:
The heralds, with their awful vestments,
With macers upon either of their hands,
To rule the preis,[4] with burnished silver wands.

Syne, last of all, in order triumphal,
That maist illuster princess honourable,
With her the lusty ladies of Scotland,
Which suld have been a sicht maist delectable;
Her raiment to rehearse I am not able,
Of gold, and pearl, and precious stones bricht,
Twinkling, like stars, in ane frosty nicht.

[1] Cloth died in grain.
[2] Banneret.
[3] Noise.
[4] Crowd.

Under a pall of gold she suld have past,
By burgess borne, clothed in silks fine,
The great maister of household, all thir last,
With him, in order, all the King's tryne,[1]
Whose ordinance were langsome to defyne;
On this manner, she passing through the town,
Suld have received mony benisoun.

Of virgins, and of lusty burgess wives,
Who suld have been a sicht celestial;
Vive la Royne! crying for their lives,
With an harmonious sound angelical;
In everilk comer, mirths musical:
But thou, tyrant, in whom is found no grace,
Our *hallcluyah* has turnit in alas!

Thou suld have heard the ornate orators,
Making her highness salutation,
Baith of the clergy, town, and councillors,
With many notable narration;
Thou suld have seen her coronation,
In the fair Abbey of the Haly-rude,[2]
In presence of a mirthful multitude.

Sic banquetting, sic awful tournaments,
On horse and foot, that time which suld have been,
Sic Chapel Royal, with sic instruments,
And crafty music, singing from the spleen,[3]
In this country was never heard nor seen:
But all this great solemnity and gam,
Turnit thou has in *requiem aeternam.*"

Such were the pageants intended to have celebrated the Queen's coronation and public entry into Edinburgh. Masses were said for the soul of Queen

[1] Train. [2] Abbey of Holyrood. [3] From the heart.

Magdalene, and continued annually to be repeated on the anniversary of her death.

During the King's absence of nearly nine months in France, Henry and the Douglasses had been busy with their intrigues in Scotland, which fully counteracted any good that might have resulted from the friendship of Francis and his reconciliation with the Emperor. The death of the Queen unmanned James for a time; yet such was the pressure of circumstances, that he had speedily to act with vigour and resolution. On the 4th of August, we find him at Tantallon,[1] where close writings were sent to him on the affairs of state. An embassy, consisting of David, afterwards Cardinal Beaton, Lord Maxwell, and the Master of Glencairn, was despatched to arrange fresh espousals with some of the daughters of France. Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville, was the fair one selected. This union had more the aspect of state policy than of love and romance, as the last had apparently been. At the same time, Mary was a woman of cultivated intellect, and lusty, comely appearance. It is said that Henry VIII. had been a suitor for her hand, and took her denial greatly amiss.

Pitscottie tells us that the King was well pleased to hear of the success of his embassy, "and caused prepare hastily a navy of ships, and the Lord Maxwell admiral thereof, with other lords and barons,

[1] Treasurer's Accounts.

to the number of ten thousand, by (besides) the King's own household, who passed in company with the King himself."[1]

The reason of this large armament was the hostility of Henry VIII. He refused the King, with his Queen Magdalene, to pass through England; so they had to make their way wholly by sea. On the present occasion, the King was to be married by proxy in France; so that, in addition to the command of the fleet, Lord Maxwell had "a commission to pass to France to see the Queen married, and thereafter to receive her in keeping, while he brought her to the Newhaven, and there to embark as soon as the wind would serve them; and this the Lord Maxwell and his navy enforced with all diligence, and hoisted the King's commission as he was directed, and passed to the Newhaven with the Queen, and pulled up sails, and marched towards Scotland with her. But because the Cardinal got no charge in the Queen's hame-coming, nor was not lattin (allowed) in the ship with her, he was dis-

[1] In the Privy Seal Register there is a letter from the King, dated at Leith, 8th May 1538, to Robert Lord Maxwell, Great High Admiral, instructing him to "the pairtis of France, for the sure convoying and accompanying of his dearest fallow the Quene, to his realme fra the said realme of France." All who might suffer skaith in this expedition, they and their heirs were to have their wards, reliefs, and marriages. The expense for minstrels, dresses for the servants of the royal household, pages, gunners, armourers, &c., amounted to £1218, 18s. 5d.

contented with Lord Maxwell, the admiral, which 'gendered hatred thereafter, as ye sall here. Also, the Queen landed very pleasant in a part of Fife called Fifeness, beside Bukony, where she remained while horsemen came to her: and the King was in St Andrews for the time, with many of his nobility, awaiting on her hame-coming, who, when he heard word that the Queen was landed in sic a part, incontinent he rode forth with all his whole lords, both spiritual and temporal, and met the Queen, and received her with great joy and merriness of farces and plays made and prepared for her; and first she was received at the new Abbey yett. At the east side thereof, there was made to her a triumphant farce, by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, knight, alias Lyon King of arms, who caused a great cloud to come down out of the heavens above the yett: out of the which cloud came down a fair lady, most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hand, and delivered them to the Queen's grace, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open for receiving of her grace: with certain orations made by the said Sir David to the Queen's grace, desiring her to fear God, and to reverence and obey her husband, and keep her own body clean, according to God's will and commandment. This being done, the Queen was received in her lodging, which was called the New Inns (or New Friars), and there she lodged for that night, till on the morn,

at ten hours, she passed to the Abbey Kirk, where she saw many lusty lords and barons, weel arrayed in their abulziements against her coming: also the bishops, abbots, monks, and canons, made regular and great solemnity in the Abbey with mass, songs, and playing on the organs. After this the Queen was received by the King in the Abbey to her dinner, where there was great mirth of schalmes, trumpets, and diverse other instruments all that day.

"Upon the morn, the Queen passed through the town, and visited all the colleges and kirks thereof, and when she came back to the palace again, she confessed to the King that she never saw in France so many pleasant farces in so little room, as she did that day in Scotland: for she said it was shown to her in France, that Scotland was but a barbarous country, desolate of all pleasant commodities: but now she saw the contrar. Also she said she never saw more fair personages of men and women as she had seen that day in so little bounds. At these words the King was greatly rejoiced, and said to her, 'Forsooth, madam, ye sall see better or you go.'

"The King and Queen remained in St Andrews the space of forty days, with great merriness, sic as jousting on horses, and running at the lists, archery, and hunting, and all other princely games. Thereafter the King and Queen went to Cupar in Fife,

and dined there, and syne passed to Falkland, and there remained seven or eight days in hunting of the fallow-deer: syne passed to Stirling, where they were weel received in the town and castle with great merriness. Thereafter his grace came to his own palace in Linlithgow, and remained a day or two, which palace the Queen highly commended, saying she never saw a more princely palace. Thereafter the King and Queen came to Edinburgh, where the Queen was received with great triumph, and richly rewarded and propined by the provost and township, with both gold and spices, wines, and curious plays made to her by the said town; and so did the rest of the head burghs of Scotland, when the Queen passed to them."

Such were the circumstances and rejoicings consequent on the marriage of James V. with Mary of Guise. The ceremony had been first performed by proxy at Paris, on the 10th January 1537-8, and again at St Andrews, the Cardinal officiating, in the beginning of June.

Ellis, in his remarks on the "Household Book of James V.," in *Archæologia*, quotes a letter of Sir Thomas Clyfford to Henry VIII., dated 26th May 1538, mentioning that the King and Queen arrived at Leith with ten French ships, and four other ships of Scotland, on Whitsunday. They were accompanied by the Vice-Admiral of France and the Bishop of Lymoges; and the vessels which conveyed

them were the "Great Unicorn," the "Little Unicorn," and the "Mary Willebye." But this must be an error; although the ships came to Leith, the King and Queen were not in them. The Bishop of Lymoges accompanied Magdalene, not Mary of Guise.

The Treasurer's Accounts fully bear out Pitscottie's narrative as to the fitting out of the expedition to bring home the Queen, and the fetes at St Andrews. In June 1538, large payments were made for dresses to the King, and for carrying and shipping of "the Kingis geir and clothing fra Edinburghe to Sanct-Androis, and geir bocht to the Kingis grace; dresses to M. Jane, the Kingis dochter; and her nureise, &c.; trapperschere, comparalionis, and irrnais, and other justing geir, munitiounes coft be Johne Bertoune, in France (extending to iiijcxxviij lib), gold ringis, anamaling, dymontis, and goldsmith wark, among which ane terget of gold, with ane marmadyne in it of dymontis of the Kingis awn gold,[1] the workmanship of which cost iij lib. Total expenditure of the month, I m vjcxx lib. xxd."

The carrying of the King and Queen's tapestry and other goods from St Andrews to the other places mentioned, cost considerable sums. The Queen had a chair of state and a table, which

[1] The King's own gold, from the mines, no doubt, of Crawfurdmuir.

accompanied them in their movements, besides the bedding and coffers belonging to herself and dames of honour. 14s. were paid for mending the Queen's saddle and chariot in St Andrews; and four ells of green velvet, "to be covering of ane sadill to the fule," cost xiij lib., besides many other items. This was *Serat*, the Queen's fool;[1] so that there were two who wore the cap and bells at court—the King's and Queen's jesters. Madame Montrule, one of the Queen's attendants, had also a carriage. The Queen's nurse, her husband, and servants, were in her suite. Pitcairn supposes the nurse to have been her foster-mother, to whom much attention was formerly paid in high circles; but the fact of her *midwife* being coupled in the payments of a month's expenses, changes the hypothesis.

The volume of the "Household Book" of James V. for 1538-9, is, as already mentioned, in the library of the Earl of Aberdeen. It shews what Pitscottie omits, that Dundee was included amongst the towns visited by the King and Queen after their marriage. They were there on the 24th of August 1538. The Court, in 1539, appears to have been nearly as migratory as it was before the King's marriage. James himself frequently passed from place to place, taking long rides, without any special attendance. He had fourteen horses for his own

[1] Pitcairn observes, that this is the first instance of a female jester he had met with.

use; and a certain number were set apart for the Queen and her ladies. A number of mules were also in the royal stud. Some of them were kept for particular purposes; for instance, one for carrying silver vessels, and another medicine. Several of the muleteers were French women.

Two attempts against the life of James were discovered and punished during his widowhood. Both plots were traced rightly or wrongly to the Douglasses. The first was by the Master of Forbes, a fierce and turbulent partisan—distinguished, under the government of Albany, by the murder of Alexander Seton of Meldrum, and his subserviency to England. He had married a sister of the Earl of Angus. The refusal of the Scottish lords, encamped at Wark, to lead their vassals against England, was mainly ascribed to his conduct and counsel. No notice was taken of this at the time; but, on the 11th June 1537, Forbes was judicially accused by George Earl of Huntly of a design to shoot the King, who was at "the time in his burgh of Aberdeen, for execution and administration of justice in the north parts of his realm:[1] and for art and part of the treasonable sedition raising amang our sovereign lords last host and army, being at Jedburgh, for defence of his realm against the army of England," &c. Both Lord Forbes and the Master were

[1] This was when the King addressed the letter to the magistrates already mentioned.

imprisoned. The latter was found guilty by a jury, and executed 14th July 1537. No one lamented his fate. His father was liberated. The design of murdering the King was hardly made so clear as the charge of refusing to invade England. Albany believed that it was the intention of the Scottish nobles to deliver him over to Henry.

The other attempt was ascribed to Janet Douglas, sister of Angus. She had been married to Lord Glammis, who died in 1527, and now was the wife of Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, second son of Archibald second Earl of Argyle. Her son, Lord Glammis, was quite a youth. Ten days after the death of Queen Magdalene, and three after the execution of Forbes, she was tried, condemned, and executed for conspiring the King's death by poison, and aiding and intercommuning with the Douglasses, her uncle and brothers. She suffered at the stake,[1] with great courage, on the 17th July 1537. Her son, Lord Glammis, was tried next day; and, having confessed his knowledge of the conspiracy, the sentence of death recorded against him was changed to imprisonment. Campbell of Skipnish met his death in attempting to escape from the Castle of Edinburgh. John Lyon, in Knockcany, an accom-

[1] That witchcraft formed any part of the charge against her is a popular error. In cases of treason, murder, &c., females of rank were *burnt at the stake*, which may have given rise to the supposition of witchcraft. *Pitcairn's Crim. Trials.*

plice, was tried on the 22d August, and condemned to be drawn and beheaded. Makke, by whom the poison had been prepared, was convicted on the same day, and banished.

Pitcairn, in his "Criminal Trials," says, "the whole complexion of this shocking tragedy bears such savage traces of a furious and unmanly revenge against a noble and unprotected female, who was the only individual of her family on whom they could lay their hands, that it can hardly be compared with any other event, either in ancient or modern history." Pitcairn is not borne out in this severe censure by what appears on the trial; but he gleans from various sources, particularly Sir Thomas Clifford's letter to Henry VIII., and a "History of Scotland, by David Scott, of the Inner Temple," printed at Westminster in 1727. The first of these authorities cannot, in such a case, be considered impartial, seeing that whatever could militate against the King and the national party, must have been gratifying to his majesty of England, the prime supporter of the Douglas faction. The second professes to be a compilation, adducing, at the same time, no references; but Mr Pitcairn *supposes*, as the author resided in London, that he had "access to state papers, &c., from which his narrative had been compiled." Even although he had, these state papers could be none other than such documents as the letter of Sir Thomas Clifford, from which

Pitcairn himself quotes. Be this as it may, Scott details the charge against Lady Janet (whom he calls *Jane*) Douglas, reports her defence at the bar, the representation of her case to the King, her execution, and the confession of William Lyon; from all of which it is represented that Lady Glammis was a woman of uncommon beauty, about the middle stature, well formed and handsome. Her accuser was William Lyon, a relative of her first husband, who became violently in love with her, even after her marriage to Archibald Campbell of Skipness, who, he states, "commanded the third regiment in the King's army"![1] and because she resisted his importunities, he contrived the story of conspiring the King's death in revenge. Lady Janet pled in her own defence before the judges, and spoke most effectively. The bench agreed that the charge against her had been proved according to law, but they recommended delay and mercy, so as to discover whether the witnesses had spoken the truth. The King would hear of no delay, and she was hurried to the stake. Lyon, seeing the evil he had caused, confessed his crime, and fled from the King's displeasure.

Not one word of this is borne out by the Books of Adjournal, and the main facts of the statement are not supported by circumstances. Had William

[1] James V. had no regular army—his "guard, band, and company of wageours" excepted.

Lyon made such a confession, and the King been displeased with him because of his bringing an innocent lady to the stake, is it probable that he would have kept her son, the young Lord Glammis, in prison, who had been condemned upon the same groundless accusation? The story of the judges representing the case to the King, and of his majesty's inexorable reply, seems a pure fabrication. There would surely have been some trace of such a thing in the criminal records. As the trial occurred on the 17th July, only ten days after the lamented death of Queen Magdalene, and as it is matter of history that James, in Pitcairn's own words, "abandoned himself to grief for her loss, and had retired from the pleasures of the court, and from all his usual sports and employments," the truth seems to be that the trial of Lady Glammis was wholly intrusted to the ordinary judges, and that James knew little of the proceedings until the doom of the prisoner had been carried into execution.[1] The

[1] The same remark is applicable to the trial of the Master of Forbes, which occurred on the seventh day after the death of Magdalene. Scott's account of this affair goes to prove it. He says—"The King was so much concerned for this nobleman's death, that he banished *Straghan* (whose false statement to Huntly is said to have led to the trial), and restored the second brother of the *Lord Forbes* to his brother's estate and honour: and, in token of his favour, made him one of his bed-chamber." Now, this looks as if James only came to the knowledge of what had taken place after his grief for Magdalene had so far subsided as to admit of his resumption of the duties of his position; but it is remarkable, if

assize, seemingly unexceptionable, were from the most opposite and distant parts of the country—including the Earls of Athole, Buchan, Cassilis, Lords Maxwell, Sempill, the Master of Glencairn, Hume of Coldingknowes, Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, Crichton of Ruwennis, Ker of Mersington, Melvil of Raith, Towers of Inverleith, Barclay of Mathers, Edmonston of Edmonston, and M'Lellan, tutor of Bombay.

But there was greater ground for suspicion in the case of Lady Glammis than Pitcairn seemed willing to consider. She made no secret of intercommuning and aiding her friends, the Douglasses. It was perhaps natural that she should be inclined to favour relatives so nearly connected; yet, as the widow of Lord Glammis, and the mother of the young heir of that ancient house, she had still stronger considerations to obey the law and preserve the family patrimony and honours to her son. Her husband, Lord Glammis, died 12th December 1527, and she must have married Campbell of Skipnish very soon afterwards, because she had two daughters by him who were old enough in September 1537, as appears from the Treasurer's Accounts, to require each a pair of "double-soled shoon."[1] Campbell

the charge against Lady Glammis had been equally false or doubtful, why he did not extend a similar boon to the young Lord her son.

[1] "Sept. 14, 1537. Item, to two dochteris of the Lady Glammys, two pair doubbill solit schone, price of the pair, ijs. ijd.,

was the second son of the Earl of Argyle, whom James had deprived of the lieutenancy of the Isles, because of his oppression and rapacity, and who was, in consequence, ready with Angus to join in any undertaking against the crown.[1] Skipnish no doubt participated in his father's feelings, and in conjunction with his wife, the sister of Angus, the flame of discontent was mutual. In December 1528, she was summoned, in company with others, for assisting the Earl of Angus. In July 1531, Gavin Hamilton had a gift of escheat of the goods, heritable and moveable, which had pertained to Jonet Lady Glammis, forfeited on account of her inter-

summa, iiij s. iiij d." In the Privy Seal Register there is a letter of licence, dated Sept. 20, 1530, "to Dame Jonet Douglas Lady Glammis, and Patrick Charteris of Cuthilgurdy, to pass to the pairtis beyond sey, in their Pilgramage, and vtheris leiffull besyness." She must surely have been then in her widowhood!

[1] This is no fanciful notion. The Earl of Northumberland, writing to Henry VIII., says, "The King of Scots heth plucked from the Earl of Argyle, and from his heirs for ever, the rule of all the out isles, and given the same to Mackayne (Alexander MacIan Cattenach, chief of the clan Ian Vohr, or Macdonalds of Isla); and also taken from the Earl of Crawford such lands as he had there, and given the same to the said Mackayne, the which heth engendered a great hatrit in the said Earl's heart against the said Scottish King." Again, 27th Dec. 1531, he reports the Earl of Bothwell informing him, that "remembering the vain boast of the Earl of Angus, the wrongful disherlting of the Earl of Crawford, &c., he "puts no doubt, seeing all their hearts afore expressed be withdrawn from the King of Scots, to crown your grace in the town of Edinburgh within brief time."—*Original letters quoted by Tytler.*

communing with the King's rebels. In January 1531-2, she was accused of art and part in taking the life of her husband, John, sixth Lord Glammis, *per intoxicationem*, meaning drugs of a poisonous nature. How she met this charge, owing to the imperfect state of the criminal records, is not known. It may have rested solely upon rumour, arising, perhaps, out of her intercourse with Skipnish, who seems to have been an officer in the King's Guards, and good-looking enough to captivate her affections. Her next appearance before the judges has been already related.[1]

From these facts, it would seem that she was incorrigible in her hostility to the King's government, and had failed to take warning from the repeated processes against her. Nor was she, as Pitcairn asserts, an "unprotected female," her husband being so immediately related to the Earl of Argyle; nor yet was she the only lady proceeded against on account of intercommuning with the Douglasses, as we have seen in the case of Lady Traquair. Campbell would probably have been executed also, had he not lost his life in attempting

[1] Pitcairn builds her defence greatly upon the number of parties allowing themselves to be fined rather than sit upon her assize; but this dislike to be one of the jury in the case of a lady (a Douglas too), well known to most of them, is no proof of their belief in her innocence. In 1516, twenty-three lords and lairds were poinded for absenting themselves on the assize of Montgomerie and Kilmaurs.

to escape from the Castle. The estate of Glammis was annexed to the crown. Had there been any ameliorating circumstances in the case of the lady —such as falsehood upon the part of the witnesses —it is impossible to believe that the King would have withheld the royal clemency to her son. As to the daughters, who had no claim upon the Glammis estate, they seem, from the Treasurer's Accounts, to have been conveyed to North Berwick, so as to be brought up under the Prioress of the Convent there. Had Pitcairn found, by his search in the criminal records, anything whatever to warrant the conclusion at which he arrived, it would have been a different matter. But the evidence upon which he founds is chiefly from unreliable sources—such as David Scott's "History of Scotland," Hume of Godscroft's "History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus," "The Genealogie of the House of Drummond," Calderwood's "History of the Church of Scotland," Clifford's letter to Henry VIII.; all of them interested sources. The weight attached to Clifford's opinion is particularly absurd. Writing from Berwick Castle, 26th July 1537, that person says, "the Laydy Glammes, suster to th' Erle of Anguysh, was brint in Edynburgh for treason layd vnto hir charge against the Kingis person; as I can percyve, without any substanciall ground or proyf of mattir." How should he have perceived the proof, or any one else not present at the trial?

But the fact is, his master was interested in whatever favoured Angus and opposed the King. Leslie and Pitscottie merely record the fact of the trials of Forbes and Lady Glammis, without comment.

It is no evidence of the innocence of his mother, as Pitcairn insinuates, that, after the death of James V., the young Lord's forfeiture was legally rescinded, and that his estates and honours were restored by Parliament, March 15, 1542-3; so were those of the notorious Bastard of Arran. The demise of the King effectually opened the door for the return of Angus, who resumed much of his former influence in the government. Of course, those friends who had suffered during his exile had no difficulty in regaining what they had lost.

But, even although the King's conduct towards the Douglasses might be marked by unrelenting severity, it must not be forgotten what their own actions had been while the King was in their power; how they had wasted and appropriated the lands and revenues of the Crown, and exercised a tyranny, in oppression and slaughter, previously unknown in the civil government of the country; and their exile had been marked by systematic treason and assistance given to the common enemy. His own existence as a sovereign, if not his life, was, in short, the stake at issue between him and the Douglas faction.

Hume, of Godscroft, relates another story of the

King's deep-rooted hostility to the Douglasses: "His implacability did also appear in his carriage towards Archibald of Kilspindy, whom he, when he was a child, loved singularly well for his ability of body, and was wont to call him his Gray-Steill (a champion in popular romance). Archibald being banished into England, could not well comport with the humour of that nation, which he thought to be too proud, and that they had too high a conceit of themselves, joined with a contempt and despising of all others. Wherefore, being wearied of that life, and remembering the King's favour of old towards him, he determined to try the King's mercifulness and clemency. So he comes into Scotland, and taking occasion of the King's hunting in the park at Stirling, he casts himself to be in his way, as he was coming home to the castle. So soon as the King saw him afar off, ere he came near, he guessed it was he, and said to one of his courtiers, 'Yonder is my Gray-Steill, Archibald Kilspindy, if he be alive.' The other answered that it could not be he, and that he durst not come into the King's presence. The King approaching, he fell upon his knees, and craved pardon, and promised from thenceforward to abstain from meddling in public affairs, and to lead a quiet and private life. The King went by without giving him any answer, and trotted a good round pace up the hill. Kilspindy followed, and, although he wore on him a secret, or

shirt of mail, for his particular enemies, was as soon at the castle-gate as the King. There he sat him down upon a stone without, and entreated some of the King's servants for a cup of drink, being weary and thirsty; but they, fearing the King's displeasure, durst give him none. When the King was set at his dinner, he asked what he had done, what he had said, and whither he had gone? It was told him that he had desired a cup of drink, and had gotten none. The King reproved them very sharply for their discourtesy, and told them, that if he had not taken an oath that no Douglas should ever serve him, he would have received him into his service; for he had seen him some time a man of great ability. Then he sent him word to go to Leith, and expect his further pleasure. Then some kinsman of David Falconer, the canonier, that was slain at Tantallon, began to quarrel with Archibald about the matter, wherewith the King shewed himself not well pleased when he heard of it. Then he commanded him to go to France for a certain space, till he heard further from him; and so he did, and died shortly after. This gave occasion to the King of England (Henry VIII.) to blame his nephew, alleging the old saying, that a King's face should give grace. For this Archibald (whatsoever were Angus's or Sir George's fault) had not been principal actor of anything, nor no counsellor nor stirrer

up, but only a follower of his friends, and that noways cruelly disposed."

It is evident, from this anecdote, that the King outraged his own natural feelings in adhering to the vow he had very early made against the Douglas family; but an unbending course was necessary for his own and the nation's independence.

CHAPTER X.

THE PARSIMONY AND PERSECUTIONS ATTRIBUTED TO JAMES V.

LESLIE relates that, after the King's marriage with Magdalene, "there was mony new engines and devices, as weel of bigging of palaces, abulziments, as of banqueting and of men's behaviour, first begun and used in Scotland, after the fashion whilk they had seen in France." Pinkerton speaks of the wealth he acquired by his marriage with Magdalene, and the ambitious designs to which it gave rise in the mind of the King. But he forgets the large sums expended, first, in preparing for the Queen's coronation; and, secondly, upon her interment, which was of a most costly description. The fact

is, the impoverished state of the exchequer was by no means in a condition to sustain the increased demand upon it. In a Parliament held in 1537, he approved the general revocation he had promulgated at Rouen, and annexed many lands to the Crown, by which its revenues were increased. Leslie also tells us, that "because the patrimony thereof was small, and could not sustain his charges, therefore he nominate four of his bastard sons, being but infants, to the Abbeys of Holyroodhouse, the Priories of St. Andrews, Melrose, and Coldinghame, and received the whole fruits thereof during all the days of his life, whilk was greater profit to him nor the whole revenue of the Crown." This was quite upon the principle of our modern *cradle* admirals and colonels in great families.[1] The marriages of the King, especially the second, with its expensive outfittings, coronation, and rejoicings, greatly augmented the royal outlay. The first appearance of a coach in the Treasurer's Accounts occurs 28th Aug. 1537, when 10s. is paid "for making ane covering to the chariot;" and in August, the following year, payments for "the King and Quenis cariage to Linlithgow and the huntis" are made to the amount of £84, 5s. 5d. About this time, Falkland Palace,

[1] July 24, 1541, "Maister Johnne Lawder" is paid a certain sum "for his labouris in writing of directionis to the Courte of Rome for promotioune of the Abbayis of Coldinghame and Melrose to the Kingis grace sonis."

which bears the date 1537 on various quarters, seems to have been nearly rebuilt, that of Stirling at least begun, Linlithgow (where Mary of Guise delighted chiefly to reside) greatly improved, the Parliament hall and chapel having been added by James V., and Holyrood finished. These extensive buildings, with the internal furnishings, must have drawn heavily upon the royal finances. Sir James Hamilton, the Bastard of Arran, as principal steward, is said to have made himself very useful in overseeing the repairs of the palaces of Stirling and Linlithgow. This is, in so far, borne out by the Treasurer's Accounts. 7th Sept. 1541. "Item, gevin to Johnne Atkynnis wyffe, in Striueling, for meit and drink furneist to vmquhile (Schir) James Hamiltoune of Fynnart, knycht, the tyme he remanit thair vpoune the biging of the new wark in Striveling, at the Kingis command, be ane precept, lxv lib."

The demand for money thus occasioned, as well as by the greatly augmented expenses of the Court, and the necessity of providing means accordingly, seems to have subjected the monarch to a charge of parsimony and spoliation, both by contemporaries and in later times. Buchanan, who knew the King personally, tells us plainly that it was his necessities that "made him so covetous of money." Naturally he was of a generous disposition. Sir Walter Scott, in his "Tales of a Grandfather," is

so careless or unthinking as to repeat the accusation of parsimony; and Lord Lindsay, in his recent work, "The Lives of the Lindsays," assails the character of the monarch in a very gross and pointed manner. "Long before 1541," he says, "King James had adopted his predecessor the first James's policy of appropriating and annexing to the Crown the great fiefs of the kingdom—scrupling at no injustice in compassing his purpose. He had thus quite recently compelled the Earl of Morton to resign his Earldom—a resignation which, after the death of James, was annulled by the Court of Session, with the most severe reprobation. In the same spirit, before consenting to sanction the new investiture to Edzell, he had extorted from him a bond, or obligation, to resign the Earldom (of Crawford), its fiefs and honours, to himself thereafter, under the penalty of one hundred thousand marks, and tinsal (loss) of life and heritage, *ad perpetuam remanentiam*—that is, to remain with him and the Crown for ever. This was on the 28th of December 1541, and, as the most recent act of oppression against the nobles, it may not improbably have instigated their refusal at Fala to march against England till their grievances should be redressed."

This is the writing of a descendant of one of those lords who were ready, in 1531, to crown his grace, Henry VIII. of England, "in the toun of Edinburgh within brief time." The reason why

Morton was compelled to resign his Earldom is not stated, no more than in the case of the Earl of Crawford, who was, about 1531, deprived of large estates in the Lowlands as well as in the Isles. But, like Argyle, he had probably not been innocent. Reference to the petition (p. 93) of "Janet Pollock, spouse of John Tweedy, in Linton," indorsed 1st August 1538, in which she states that "lately, my Lord of Morton has put me furth of my mailing, that should have sustained my sad spouse and me, and our ten bairns," throws some faint light on the conduct of Morton. He was guilty, in this instance, of oppressing a woman and her family whom he should have protected. John Tweedy had been imprisoned for "treasonable assistance given to James Douglas, formerly of Parkhead." Morton evidently was of the Douglas faction,[1] and ought to have sustained the wife and children of John Tweedy. The King, true to his innate desire of protecting the poor against the great, set Tweedy at liberty, and afterwards compelled Morton (not for that offence alone) to resign his Earldom. How many other acts of oppression, or possibly treason, he may have been guilty of, we know not.

It is rather difficult to understand the affair of

[1] James Earl of Morton, George Douglas of Pennyland, and others, became surety for the remaining in ward of *William Douglas*, "son natural of *James Douglass*, sometime of Parkhead," which was accepted by warrant of the King, 11th March 1539.

Edzell, as related by Lord Lindsay; but the story in *Wood's Peerage* may throw some light upon it. Alexander, Master of Crawford, and his brother, seized their father, imprisoned and fettered him, and took possession of his house and revenues. They were brought to trial, found guilty, and disinherited—the old Earl making a disposition in favour of David Lindsay of Edzell, who, failing heirs of his own body, was the nearest *unforfeited* heir-male. A charter passed the Great Seal on this disposition, 16th October 1541. This David of Edzell was the same party whom the King had saved from being set aside by his grandfather in 1531-2; and, in return for sanctioning this new investiture of the Crawford estates, by which the proper heirs were overleaped, in consequence of their unnatural conduct, the King, in pursuance of his policy of circumscribing the great baronies, stipulated for the surrender of the Earldom, its fiefs (superiorities), and honours, on his succession. By this arrangement, Edzell secured a valuable property, to which he was only the *nearest unforfeited* heir-male after the death of the existing Earl, by resigning the title, which he might never have enjoyed, either with or without the property. This statement of facts places the affair in a very different light from that represented by Lord Lindsay; and James appears at once true to his policy and his love of justice. He might have insisted on the

title and estates descending to David, son and heir of the disinherited Master of Crawford, the latter having been killed in Dundee in 1541, or annexed them to the Crown. But the Master had certainly forfeited all claim to his heritage, consequently the King, in sanctioning the new investiture, supported justice, and, at the same time, did Edzell, as he had done before, a particular act of kindness. In bargaining for the suppression of the Earldom—from political motives—he was inflicting no wrong upon Edzell, who never had possessed the title; and it is absurd to suppose that the King imposed the bond merely for the purposes of gain, or that he forced Edzell into it. On the contrary, the advantage lay upon the side of the latter, and no doubt he entered willingly into the arrangement. Edzell succeeded, on the death of the Earl, in 1542, and the sequel of the story, as related by Lord Lindsay, rather confirms this view than otherwise. "No sooner," says his lordship, "did the news of his (the King's) death reach Earl David, than he recalled his bond by a formal protest at the altar of St Francis, in the Cathedral of St Giles at Edinburgh, as having been extorted from him *unjustly* and *under peril of life*, but seven thousand marks were extracted from him the following year by the grasping Regent, Arran, Duke of Chatelherault, as the price of a discharge or acquittance of this unhappy engagement." Had the bond been in reality unjust

and oppressive, and exacted, as *sworn to*, "under peril of life," it is surprising, after the accession of Arran and Angus to power, that such a sum should have been exacted. These chiefs were anxious to conciliate parties, especially such as had rendered themselves obnoxious to James. As to the grievances of the nobles being the cause of their refusal to cross into England when encamped at Fala, it might as well be said that they were similarly actuated at Wark, six years before, when they did the same thing, and seemed inclined to hand Albany over to Henry VIII. No doubt they made their grievances the excuse at Fala; but their grievances consisted simply in not being allowed to retain what they had acquired unjustly, and to oppress and plunder their weaker neighbours.

It may be true what Lord Lindsay says, that "had he (the King) adopted his father's policy of ruling his nobles by love, instead of that of James I., of crushing them by oppression, his fate might, in that case, have been different." But the parallel is not good. James IV. was carried to the throne on the shoulders of the rebellious nobles by whom his father was slain. He had not experienced, like James I., during his long captivity in England, and James V., during his minority, the ruin inflicted on the country by a rampant, vindictive, and ignorant feudal aristocracy. If they both lost their lives in attempting to introduce law and order into the

country, by making examples of the principal offenders, and circumscribing the power of the nobles generally, no one can doubt the righteousness of the object, though they miscalculated the ramifications of the tyranny against which they arrayed themselves. It may be policy for a man to submit to the caprices and injustice of a den of robbers whom he cannot escape; but all must admire his courage, if not his sagacity, in measuring his strength with them. The bargain with Edzell is quite in keeping with "the mission" of James, as evidenced in the fact, that not one of the existing peerages sprung from his reign, and as few great baronial holdings. Perhaps the only title of nobility conferred during his reign, was that of Methven, upon the husband of the queen-mother. The Crown lands, in short, were nearly dissipated before he came of age, so that his business as a sovereign was to *recover* rather than bestow.

That James was not a bigot, may be inferred from the whole tenor of his career. He was naturally of a warm and liberal temperament, and had a keen relish of the humorous, a quality that rarely finds a place in the mind of the intolerant. In supporting the clergy and the existing system of religion, he was actuated more as a statesman than a theologian. That he was not indisposed to reform in the Church, is apparent from his not only tolerating but enjoying the clerical satires of Lynd-

say of the Mount, and his instigation of Buchanan to write "Franciscanus," which was levelled against that order. Indeed, his own poem of "Christ's Kirk on the Green," shews anything but a servile reverence for the Church. He naturally conceived that the arrogant and mischievous power of the barons was best to be brought within safe bounds by aid of the priesthood. He was alienated from his uncle, Henry, and his ecclesiastical policy, by the haughtiness of his commands, which inclined him rather to the alliance of France and Catholicity. The state of England also encouraged the idea that the King would soon be too much engrossed with his own affairs to intermeddle with those of Scotland. His Roman Catholic subjects were discontented. Three insurrections had lately taken place, and songs, prophecies, and libellous rhymes, spoke openly of the accession of the Scottish monarch. Henry was weak enough to remonstrate with James regarding these pasquinades, as is evidenced by the Treasurer's Accounts: "Jan. 1538-9, Item, deliverit to ane Inglismanne that came fra the Bourdouris with writingis tuiching the Ballatt maid of the King of England, iij lib." James affected to despise such "fantastic prophecies," in his intercourse with the English Council; and, in a letter to the Bishop of Landaff, dated 5th January 1538, states that he suspects such ballads to be the composition of Henry's own subjects, or of Scottish rebels residing

in England; yet he must have regarded them with satisfaction, as indicating the unpopularity of the King.[1]

James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, died in the autumn of 1538. Cardinal David Beaton, who had long been the King's principal adviser, succeeded him. His accession was marked by renewed persecution. Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, who was the first to propagate the principles of the Reformation publicly in Scotland, had suffered martyrdom in 1528, when James Beaton acted as Chancellor in connection with the Douglas government; but the King, then only sixteen years of age, could in no way be held responsible, though the proceedings were conducted in his name. The Books of Adjournal afford little or no information as to the trials of the earlier martyrs of the Reformation; so that Pitcairn, in illustration of the criminal executions of the time, is obliged to borrow the statements of Fox, Calderwood, M'Crie, and other writers who have devoted themselves to this portion of Church History. These trials seem to have been considered more of an ecclesiastical than a state affair. In August 1534, David Straiton,[2] of the house of Laurieston, and Mr Norman Gourlay,[3] were

[1] Tytler.

[2] His heresy was first manifested by refusing to pay teinds.

[3] Gourlay was a priest, had been abroad, and married on his return, contrary to the law of celibacy.

brought to trial and condemned at the Abbey of Holyrood. James Hay, Bishop of Ross, as commissioner for the Archbishop of St Andrews, sat in judgment. The King himself, clothed in red,[1] appears to have been present. Calderwood says that the King, "being present, great pains were taken upon David Straiton to move him to recant and burn his bill;[2] but he, ever standing to his defence, was in the end adjudged to the fire." It is thus apparent that, but for the *presence of the King*, the Bishops would not have used so much tenderness with him—an admission plain enough of the King's unwillingness that judgment should pass against the culprit. In answer to Straiton's solicitation for grace at the hands of the King, Calderwood says, "the Bishops answered proudly, that the King's hands were bound, and that he had no grace to give to such as were by law condemned." This was, in reality, pretty much the case. James could not fly in the face of the Bishops and the established religion, without abandoning the country to immediate and irretrievable ruin. The people were by no means prepared for such a revolution. In truth, the Roman Catholic Church, the then established Church of Scotland, did no more than what the Free Church is attempting to do in our own day—to draw an impenetrable line between the civil

[1] This is still the usual judicial dress in criminal cases.

[2] The form of recanting.

and ecclesiastical courts. They held, as Dr Candlish and other leaders of the Free Church do now, that in ecclesiastical matters the lay courts should have no power, however unjust or injurious the decisions of the Church might be. If the Free Church is right now, surely the Roman Catholic Church was right then; for heresy was purely an ecclesiastical crime. It is absurd, therefore, to blame the King for permitting what he could not help, without violating the jurisdiction of the Church, which he was not strong enough to encounter. Pitscottie says, that "the King himself pleaded for his (Straiton's) life, whilk the Bishop's granted if he would burn his faggot,[1] whilk the said David of noways would do." At this time, according to Fox, the King persuaded Sir James Hamilton, Sheriff of Linlithgow, his uncle, not to appear, but to leave the country; if he did not, he could not help him, as the Bishops held that the cause of heresy in noways appertained to him. James, in a pleasant manner, overcame the scruples of *Katherine*, sister of the Sheriff, and so insured her safety. This was done in a way highly illustrative of the King's humour. She was accused of heresy, in so far as admitting "that her own works could not save her." After long reasoning between her and Mr John Spens, the lawyer, afterwards King's

[1] The ceremony of recanting consisted in publicly burning a faggot of dry sticks.

Advocate, she became impatient, exclaiming, "Work here, work there; what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of works can save me, but only the works of Christ, my Lord and Saviour!" The King, turning round and laughing at the good lady's outburst of indignation, called her to him, and succeeded in persuading her formally to recant.

In February 1539, Friar John Keillor, Dean Thomas Forret, Friar John Beverage, Duncan Simson, priest, and Robert Forrester, gentleman, were brought before Cardinal Beaton and William Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, both of whom were notorious, especially the latter, for their licentiousness and other corrupt practices. The whole of them were condemned to the stake. Jerome Russel, a friar, and Ninian Kennedie, a poet, eighteen years of age, also suffered at Glasgow. The King seems to have taken no personal share in these trials; but from his "Household Book," upon which some "Observations," by Henry Ellis, Esq., were printed in *Archæologia*, xxii. 7, it appears that he was present in Edinburgh at the *auto-da-fé* of the former of these sufferers, 1st March 1539: "Accusatio hæreticorum et eorum combustio, apud Edinburgh Rege presente." He returned to Linlithgow the evening following. The character of James will not admit of the idea that he attended such a spectacle merely to gratify curiosity or indulge a Nero-like exultation in human torture;

nor could it be that he had grown more intolerant of heresy on account of his recent marriage with Mary of Guise, and the greater difficulty of his position politically; because Sir David Lyndsay's play of "The Satire of the Three Estates" was enacted, by express command of the King, before the entire Court and people, on the play-field near Linlithgow, on Epiphany 1539-40—a fact which shewed that he had in no way abated his desire to reform the Church. At the same time, he certainly was not in a position to attempt an entire and sudden overthrow of the institution; and his presence at the *auto-da-fé* may be accounted for by his usual anxiety as to matters of public duty.

James had to lean much on the political sagacity of Cardinal Beaton, who was the chief mover in these absurd and cruel persecutions. The difficulty of the King's position was well expounded by himself, in reply to Sir Ralph Saddler, ambassador of Henry, about this time.[1] Alarmed at the coalition between the Emperor of Germany and Francis I., the English monarch was anxious to conciliate the Scots, which he did by punishing the Border malefactors, and sending Sir Ralph on a friendly mission. The instructions of this able minister were to ascertain the King's intentions as to the league against England, and his opinion regarding the Reformation,

[1] 26th Feb. 1540, James Bessat passed with writing to Dunbar, to "caus provisioune be maid to resaue Rauff Sadillar, Inglisman."

and the suppression of the monasteries. He was also to renew the proposal of a personal conference between the monarchs at York, tempting him with the prospect of succeeding to the crown. He, at the same time, carried certain letters addressed to Rome by Cardinal Beaton, which it was supposed would awaken the jealousy of the Scottish monarch.

The ambassador was well received, but James played this able intriguer adroitly. He assured him that, *if Henry's conduct had at all squared with his professions, nothing would have induced him to form any coalition with Francis and the Emperor;* from which it may be inferred that, but for Henry's protection of the Douglasses, and fomenting discord among the Scottish nobility, James might have declared with Henry for the Reformation. As it was, although he admitted the profligacy of some of the clergy, and promised to enforce a better life, yet he gave them credit for learning, and declared his intention never to discard the religion of his forefathers.[1]

Here we have a key to the whole policy of James. Distrust of the professions of Henry, which he daily saw violated in his overbearing conduct, and the pains taken in the promotion of discord in Scotland, threw him into the arms of the Catholic powers abroad, while at home he found the Catholic clergy the only parties of education sufficient to aid

[1] Tytler.

him in carrying on the government, and to resist the growing disaffection of the nobility. Add to this, that the Queen, Mary of Guise, was a firm adherent of the Church of Rome, and we may easily conceive how the King, without being a bigot, declined to favour the Reformation.

As to the letters of Beaton, James said he had seen them before, and smiled at Sadler's suggestion that the Cardinal desired to transfer Scotland to the Pope. Equally guarded as to the projected conference, he threw the ambassador off his bearings, by proposing that Francis should be one of the party, a point upon which the ambassador had no instructions.

The influence which the Catholics gained over the mind of James, resulting chiefly from the peculiarity of his position, and the progress of the Reformation, which had proceeded to the casting down of images, was coupled with strong injunctions to churchmen, both of high and low degree, to amend their lives and conversation. It is said that, at a later period (1540), when Lyndsay's satire of the "Three Estates" was publicly performed at Linlithgow,[1] the King had in contemplation a thorough reform of the church—he remonstrated warmly with the prelates as to the scandalous lives of some of the body

[1] It was probably for this performance that the items respecting playcoats and players appear in the Treasurer's Accounts at the end of 1539.

—and, according to the Duke of Norfolk, who repeated the information of an eye-witness, he had even begun to cast his eyes on the immense revenues of the Church.[1] Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise with the King, who had been brought up under the guidance of such a lampooner of the Catholic clergy as Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, whose verses were almost all submitted to him for his amusement. There must have been a feeling in common between them on the subject of the Church, which the rapid convergence of circumstances of vital importance prevented him from giving full and practical expression to.

From the Household Book, and Treasurer's Accounts, after the return of the King from France, down to the close of 1539, we can gather that he had lost none of his activity in attending to the affairs of the state, nor in his love for the amusements of the field. His leading objects were the welfare and safety of the country. In June 1538, bows and arrows were furnished in great numbers to the King at Holyrood House, and to John Tennand, at Tantallon, by the "King's Bowar." In July, a messenger was despatched with letters to the Warden of the West Marches, charging the people of the borders and others, not to make market with Englishmen in these parts, nor commune or intermeddle with them, because of the pestilence which

[1] Tytler.

had broken out on the English side. Similar letters were sent to the east and middle marches, and Englishmen coming by sea were not to be received either north or south of the Forth. The tower of the Abbey of Holyrood appears to have been fortified at this time, John Kill having been paid £5, 10s. for mending "the municionis," or guns. John Creech was paid £7, in complete settlement of "the fraucht of his schip quhilk past in Denmark for pulderis and gunnis." In September, William Smibbert was paid £33, 5s. for "dychting of swerdis, rapperis, harnessing, steil-saddillis, Jedbrucht-stavis," and other weapons, to the King's grace, delivered to Robert Gib and John Tennand. The King had the present of a ship, called "the Salamander," from the French King. From the time she brought home Queen Magdalene till Whitsunday 1538, John Barton had expended £140, 11s. 10d. upon her. There was also another King's ship, called "The Unicorn." In the summer of 1538, she had been out at sea in search of pirates. There was a "littill new bark" (the Little Unicorn), upon which considerable sums were expended. She was fitted up with what were called the King and Queen's chambers, with much carving in various parts of the ship, and arms and faces, painted with gold and azure, while her masts and sails were painted with oil colours. The money expended on the munitions and works of the Castle

of Edinburgh for the year ending 17th Sept. 1539, amounted to £1484. 11s, 8d.

At the King's *maundy*, 3d April, 1539, he distributed, with his own hands, twenty-seven loaves, being a loaf for every year of his age, to as many poor people; and, on the 24th August of the same year, he and the Queen made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St Adomar, in the Isle of Man. In December, they passed three days at the Monastery of Dunfermline, where they were entertained by Cardinal Beaton.

In reference to field-sports numerous entries occur. Hawks, in 1538, were brought from Maclean of the Isles; from John Halden, in Kirkaldy; and in September of the same year, five falconers were sent to France with hawks. In June 1539, falcons were brought from Caithness; and again in September, on the 16th of which month, the King and Queen passed to the hunting in Glenfinlas.

"Sept. Item, to Duncan Campbell of Drumfad, for ane horse of his that wes slane tursand the Kingis vennesoune out of Glenfinlass, at the Kingis grace command and precept, v lib. vjs. viijd."

The expenses of the Court came to be enormously increased. Amongst the smaller items, there are liveries and dresses for nine pages, four lackeys, ten grooms of the stable, and five grooms of the Queen's stable. The outlay for the month of July was 210*l*, 3s. 4d. March 9, 1539, Monsieur Lassenie,

who was the first to come from the King of France after Yule, had a present of £400 in a purse Monsieur Morauvelay, master of the household to the Duke of Guise, £300; and a French pursuivant, called De la Plume, £40. Among the more notable parties who figure in the accounts may be noticed "Maister George Balquhannane (Buchanan)," who has a Paris black gown for the Queen's entry into Edinburgh. He was tutor to one of the King's illegitimate sons. He had also £20 in money. The "Queen's fule" again appears for certain dresses; and Madame Montrule for £37, 6s. paid to John Fisher for merchandise. Norman Leslie—known afterwards as one of the chief actors in the slaughter of Cardinal Beaton—has a gift of £40 at this time. He appears to have been early attached to the Court of James V., and both he and some of his relatives occur repeatedly in the accounts as having received dresses or money. Had James been a bigot, such men would not have been tolerated in his Court; but the fact shews what danger he incurred by his liberality. Many of his chief officials were, in short, known to be favourable to the Reformation.

Much money is disbursed on account of the Queen and her ladies, and on the King's son, Lord James, and his daughter, Lady Jane. May 1538, the latter had "ane Kirtill, and goun of the Frence sort," of "blak satyn of Venise," with "ane chafferoune of gold Parise werk," which cost £41, 2s. 10d.

March 3, 1539, the "Erle of Levenax twa sisters, in Linlithgow, have articles of dress to the amount of £15, 14s. Their sister, Elizabeth, had a son to the King, Adam, Prior of the Charter House of Perth. March 31, Lord James of Kelso, and Lord James of St Andrews, the King's sons, have dresses consisting of "gownis of gray sating of Venyse," "coitis with slevis of purpure welvot," "waltit with gray welvot," "hoise of Rissillis blak lynit with blew," having "blak Taffiteis to draw thame with," "twa welvot bonnetis with pasmentis of silk, and ane marrabas bonett," "beltis and gartanis of taffiteis," and "blak welvot schone." Lady Jane had "walting for a nycht-goune" of "blak taffiteis and welvot," and "lyning of the samin goune with cotonaris, and the foir breistis with mertrik sabill:" the amount was £86, 15s. 8d. In May, Madame Gresmore, in St Andrews, is presented with a gown of red "crammassy welvot" for her marriage, at a cost of £108. She belonged to the Queen's establishment, and was married to the Laird of Creech. She had another "Kirtill of quhite welvot," which, together with gowns and kirtles to the Earl of Lennox's two sisters,[1] cost £211, 17s. Sept. 21, 1539. "Item, to the Lady Lochlevin, in contentatioune of ane pensioun awin to her yerelie, £646, 14s. Dec. 12. "Item, to Johnne Leslie, sone to the Erle

[1] They were the daughters of the Earl of Lennox, who was killed at Linlithgow by the Bastard of Arran.

of Rothes, to bye him clathis with, at the Kingis command, £13, 6s. 8d." This individual was half-brother of Norman Leslie. Jane, the French droich, had a dress of light blue purple velvet sent to her to Stirling, "agane Pasche," which cost xx lib. xij s. vj d.

The Royal Exchequer seems to have been largely drawn upon for jewellery. The gold-mines belonging to the King no doubt led in some measure to this. A considerable quantity of the precious metal seems to have been produced, though it is likely the expense of working it may have overbalanced the profit. In April 1538, the King had a square chain of gold made by John Mosman. August. "Item, deliuerit to Johnne Mosman, to mak ane croce of gold to set diamant stanes in, viiij angell nobillis, vj lycht Franche crownis, summa, xvj lib. iiij s. "Item, for the fassoune of the said croce, v lib." Dec. "Item, to Thomas Ryne, goldsmyth, for chenzeis of gold, gold ryngis, tabillatis, and other goldin werk deliuerit be him to the King's grace, agane New Zeris mess, and gevin in New Zeris giftis, ijcxxxix lib. xixs." "Item, to Johnne Kyll, goldsmyth, for three chenzies and twa hartis of gold, deliuerit, as said is, at New Zeris mess, &c.. xxiij lib." "Item, to Johnne Mosman, goldsmyth, for certane tabillatis, chenzies of gold, and ryngis and stanys, ressauit the tyme forsaid, lxiij lib. x. s." "Item, to him for the making of the grete basing of gold, weyand x pund

wecht, ane vnce and ½ ane vnce ;[1] and making of ane schip, twa brasillatis, and making and translating of diverse chenzeis and ringis of the Kingis gracis, and eking of gold of his awin, lxxiiij lib. xs." August 1539. "Item, for ane silver quhissil, with ane lang chenze, quhilk wes gevin at the Kingis command to the Patroune of the schippis, weyand xj vncis iij quarteris of ane vnce, ix lib. ij d." "Item, for the fassoune of the samyne, iij lib." Oct. 5. "Item, gevin to Johnne Mosman for making of the Queenis crowne, and furnesing of stanis thairto, quhilk weyit xxxv vnce of gold of mynde (from the royal mine) xlv lib." The price of the ounce of gold was £6, 8s.; in all, £224. Dec. 31. Thomas Rynde, goldsmyth, provides golden work to the value of £282, 3s., to be given in New-year's gifts by the King at Linlithgow. The Queen had a supply to the value of £149, 12s., and John Mosman delivered similar work to the King, of the value of £205, 14s., and to the Queen, amounting to £96, 5s. The whole amount, in jewellery, dress, and personal expenditure for the King and Queen, during the month of December, was £8600, 0s. 8d.

The Queen and her ladies seem to have been very industrious in embroidery and other silk work, as numerous entries testify, besides the expense for quantities brought from abroad. These, no doubt,

[1] Such a bowl, of plain pattern, Mr Pitcairn ascertained would cost £788, 10s. at the present day.

were for the use and ornament of the various royal palaces, which were comparatively bare of furnishing. March 25, 1539. "Item, send to Linlithgow, be Katheryne Bellendene, to the Queenis grace, twa pound of sewing gold, price thairof, xxiiij lib." "Item, ane pound of sewing silver, xiiij lib. vj s." "Item, ix vnce of blak Paryse silk, liiij s." "Item, xvj lang bobennis, price of the peee, vs. iiij d., summa, iiij lib. vs. iiij d." "Item, xvj schort bobenis, ladit at vjs. viij d., summa, vlib., vs. viijd." March 31. "Deliuerit to Johnne Young, broudstar (embroiderer), iij elnis half elne of crammacy sating, to the stand of clayth of gold wirkand to the Kingis Chapell, price of the elne, iij lib. xs., summa, xijlib. vs." Oct. 9. "Item, to William Schaw, in part of payment of jm jclxxiij lib. xiiijs., rest and awand to him for the new tapesscherye brocht last furth of Flanderis, lxxiij lib. xiiijs."

From items respecting cloth for curches (caps) for the King's bed, and for towels to dry and rub his head, it appears that he used to bathe his head regularly in the morning, and it is known that he pursued all kinds of vigorous exercises to promote health.

Some interesting items in the Treasurer's Accounts refer to books belonging to the King and Queen. March 1539. "Item, to Helene Ross, to cover ane Mating Buke (prayer-book) to the Queenis grace, iij quarteris ½ quarter of purpure welvot, and to be

ane polk (bag) to the samin, price of the elne, iij lib. xs., summa, iiij lib., xs. vd." "Item, for ¼ elne half quarter of reid dammese (damask) to lyne the saidis polk and covering with, xxijs. vjd." "Item, to David Chepman, for bynding and laying about the said buke with gold, xs." "Item, gevin to Helene Ross, for viij singill hankis of gold, to bordour the said buke and polk, and be knoppis thairto, and for silk to string the said polk with, and werkmanschip of all, iij lib. xs."

May 1539, the King had "ane grete Mating Buke," "clespit with gold, quhilk he gat fra my Lord Secretare," with a covering and bag of green velvet; the bag and boards of the book lined with red damask, sewed with gold, and having gold tassels. Two "writing bukis of parchement" were also bought for the King at this time in Falkland, which cost viij s. Various other entries occur in reference to the King and Queen's books. From subsequent entries it will be seen that she regularly employed a painter, but whether in oil or water colours does not appear.

The expenditure for the "household" during the year ending Sept. 1539, was £7482, 13s. 11½d.

CHAPTER XI.

THE QUEEN'S CORONATION—VOYAGE OF THE KING ROUND THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND AND THE ISLES.

NOTWITHSTANDING the somewhat feverish state of affairs at this time, domestic as well as in regard to England, the year 1540 seems to have opened with much gaiety and splendour in as far as the Court was concerned. Plays were enacted at Linlithgow in celebration of "Uphalyday,"[1] and great preparations began to be made for the Queen's Coronation. On the 6th January, £15 was paid to John Mosman, jeweller, for making a belt of gold, from the royal mines, for "the Queenis grace," weighing 19½ ounces, and £5 for a sapphire to it.[2] A crown was made for the King, 41½ ounces of gold of the mine, in which there were twenty-four precious stones—three being great garnets, and one a great emerald. The cost of the making, independent of the gold and stones, was £49, 5s. The Crown was delivered to the King at the Palace of Holyrood on the 8th February.[3] He had also a robe royal,

[1] The first day after the termination of the Christmas holidays.

[2] The Crown, as we have seen, had been previously prepared.

[3] These crowns—the King and Queen's—form part of the Regalia of Scotland, as sealed and set aside at the Union, now in the Crown-Room of the Castle.

kirtle, and hood, of purple velvet, lined with spotted ermine, which cost £201. The "Queenis grace" had a robe royal of the same material, lined with "white taffity of cord," which cost £84, 15s. Numerous other dresses, such as "jornayis and comparisounis" (military coats and harnessings), to the King, are mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts. The dresses to the Lady Jane, and the numerous dependents of the Court, were of the most splendid and costly description. Pursuivants and messengers were despatched to all parts of the country, to warn "the lordis and ladyis" to the Coronation, which seems to have taken place on the 14th February. The Chaplains of the King's Chapel, eleven in number, "being in Edinburche at the Queenis Coronatioun," from the 14th February to the 12th March, were paid 2s. per day.

The coronation of the Queen was followed, not long after, by the birth of Prince James, which event occurred at St Andrews, whither the Queen had removed from Linlithgow, some time previously. On the 11th May, a messenger was despatched to warn certain lords and ladies to be in St Andrews. at the birth. None of our historians mention the precise time; but it appears to have happened on the 22d of the month. On that day, the Earl Marshal and Huntly were sent for, and a messenger was despatched to the Lothians and the Merse to proclaim "the birth of my Lord Prince." Another

messenger was despatched to the west and south to warn the lords and barons to come to the baptism. On the 25th, George Elphinston passed to the King of England with news of the birth. Considerable expense was lavished on this young heir to the Crown. The tapestrar made a pavilion for "the Prince's bed of state," and a Frenchman was handsomely paid "for making of my lord Prince cradyll." John Paterson had 40s. for making of "ane case to the Kingis boy of silver." Of what use this case was, does not appear. A "crimson-velvet cover" was made for the Prince's cradle; and Mosman, the jeweller, prepared a silver spoon for his use. In October, the same party was employed to engrave the Prince's arms upon the "chapell gair" that had belonged to the late Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, which gear consisted of a cross of silver, two chandaliers, a holy-water vat (or vessel), with a stick, two cruets, a bell, a box to keep the host or eucharist in, and a cover to serve for the *pax*. These articles, forfeited by the treason of Hamilton, were delivered "to Thomas Dudingstoune, maister of Howshald to my lord Prince." Mosman had also to garnish a bear's tooth for the Prince, which appears to have been used in place of a coral for his teeth. Gold from the mine, to the amount of £8, 8s., was used in the garnishing, and the workmanship cost 40s.

It is said by historians that James got notice of

the birth of the Prince as he was about to sail on his voyage to the Isles; but this is not quite correct. He was, no doubt, busily preparing for the expedition. On the 21st of the same month, ten ells of red "crammesy velvet" had been delivered to the King's head tailor, "to make him ane cote and ane pair of breekis for the see (sea)." Andro Michelsoune, who brought intelligence of the Prince's birth to the King, then at Holyrood, had a coat of serge and a bonnet given him, by way of reward. From the foregoing circumstances, we see that the Prince was not only born, but baptised, before he sailed. The day on which this ceremony happened is not mentioned; but it seems to have been about the end of May. It took place by torch-light. Fifteen ells of white taffety were made into "servites" for the torches. Sir Thomas Gray was paid £12, 6s. 8d. for painting the arms, furnishing "cammese" (supposed to be a kind of gauze for painting flowers upon), and other stuffs, "at the baptism of my Lord Prince." June 7. "Item, gevin to Maister Andro Quhytelaw, for fraucht of ane bote furth of Leithe to Levynnis Mouthe with the silver wark, and for cariage thairof to Sanct Androis, at the baptyme of my Lord Prince, iiij lib."

The King, no doubt elevated by the birth of a legitimate heir to the Crown, now undertook, with corresponding confidence, his projected visit to the northern counties and the Orkney and Western

Isles. These portions of the kingdom had been long torn by the contentions of the clans, and by piratical adventurers. He was resolved to put a stop to this unhappy state of affairs, and redress the grievances of the inhabitants. A fleet of twelve ships was accordingly assembled, amply furnished with artillery, and commanded by skilful mariners. Six were appropriated by the King; three were victuallers, and the remaining three carried separately the Cardinal, the Earl of Huntly, and the Earl of Arran. Beaton conducted five hundred men from Fife and Angus, and Huntly and Arran one thousand. This little army was augmented by the royal suite, and numerous barons and gentlemen who followed the royal train.

The Treasurer's Accounts furnish various particulars as to the fitting out of this expedition. The "Littill Unicorn" seems to have been selected for the King and his immediate attendants. The "Kingis chalmer in the schip" was hung with French green; and his bed had curtains and a cover of black damask. The bed in the nether chamber of the ship had cover and curtains of green damask. Streamers of red and yellow were provided for the fleet, as well as ensigns of the same colour, upon which were crosses of white taffety. Sixteen standards were delivered to John Barton for the ships. "Top-clothes" and flags were likewise supplied. The ships were provided with ovens,

and pavilions and bedding were furnished from the Abbey. The King had a gold whistle manufactured for his use while on the expedition. A variety of arms and warlike dresses were repaired and purchased for the occasion. A messenger was despatched (June 6) to Dumbarton, Irving, and Ayr, with letters charging these burghs to send boats and ships with victuals to meet the King in the Isles by the 6th of July, and to remain in Dumbarton and the Lennox for inbringing of the rest of the air."[1]

The King carried with him Alexander Lindsay, a skilful pilot, to complete a nautical survey of the northern coasts. The charts and observations are still in existence. His chief object, however, was to reduce to subjection the numerous chiefs who had repeatedly, during the previous thirty years, refused to acknowledge the crown.[2]

It is not certain what day the fleet sailed upon, but it could not be before the 6th of June. The royal flag was hoisted on board the admiral's ship. The spectacle must have been an interesting one to the inhabitants, as the vessels weighed anchor, and sailed along the coasts of Fife, Angus, and Buchan. It was for no holiday show that James V., the "King of the Commons," thus adventured himself upon an excursion that might involve rough work among

[1] The residue of the escheats due to the Crown from the preceding justice aire of Dumbarton.

[2] Tytler.

the wild seas of the north, and the rebellious spirits of the isles; but he had a duty to perform equally to the Crown and the people, whose cause he was ready to espouse as he had formerly done that of his subjects of the south.

Doubling the promontory of Kennedar (Kinnaird's Head), the squadron visited the shores of Caithness, and from Sutherlandshire took Donald Mackay of Strathnaver, as security for the good conduct of the clan. Thence it crossed to Orkney, which island the King found in a much more peaceable and prosperous state than could have been expected. No seizures appear to have been made at this place. Passing Cape Wrath, the fleet steered for the Lewis, Harris, and the Isles of North and South Uist. Here were captured and carried on board, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen in the Lewis. Next, crossing over to Skye, a descent was made upon Glenelg, Moidart, and Ardnamurchan. Then circumnavigating Mull, the armament visited Coll and Tiree, swept along the coast of Argyle, and passing the promontory of Kintyre, lingered awhile on the shores of Arran, and cast anchor beside the Kyles of Bute. From these places, exclusive of Arran and Bute, were carried Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, in the west of Skye; John Moyder tach, Captain of Clan Ranald; Alexander of Glengarie, and others who were chieftains of "Mac-Conеyllis kin," relatives of the late Donald Gruamach

of Sleat, who was understood to have the hereditary claim to the lordship of the Isles, in the north of Skye; John Mackenzie, chief of the Mackenzies, in Kintail; Hector Maclean of Dowart, and James Macconnel of Isla, in Kintire and Knapdale.

The small armament of the King seemed fully equal to the task undertaken. His object was as much to reconcile the rebellious as well as to compel them to obedience. It was, therefore, the refractory chiefly whom he carried on board the fleet, placing them in irons if their conduct was violent; but most of the captured soon became enamoured of the courtesy and kindness of the King, and were pleased with the idea of being carried to the Court. Throughout the expedition, James contrived to mingle amusement with the duties of the monarch and legislator. The royal pavilion was usually pitched on the beach, round which the mountain and island lords crowded to proffer allegiance, while the natives flocked to the shore to witness the kingly display. Where the nature of the ground permitted, the meeting of the Sovereign was usually followed by the pleasures of the chase, in which all were permitted to join. Thus the King, while he subdued by the presence of a power sufficient to quell the most formidable opposition, judiciously made willing and loving subjects by his urbanity and condescension.

On reaching Dumbarton, he considered his labours

at an end, and directing the fleet to return to Leith by the course they had pursued, travelled back to Court overland.

The King and Queen kept up a correspondence during his absence: June 28, John Paterson was paid £4 for passing with writings from the Queen to the King in the Isles; and on his returning, July 10, he was paid other £3 in full of his wages. John Grote had £20 for the freight of a ship, with writings from the Queen to the King while in Orkney. A number of the prisoners brought from the Isles were sent to Dunbar, Tantallon, and the Bass. Robert Black had payment, on the 31st July, for carrying the Highlandmen there.

Prior to the King's departure for the Isles, and during his absence, the Treasurer's Accounts shew that important business was on hand. The royal mines particularly engaged the attention of James about this time and subsequently. There is a payment—May 14—to Balsar Howstar, Dutchman, and Richard Wardlaw, to pass to Campbell, to "serche the metallis and ore of silver." June 4 and 6, writings were brought from the Captain of Berwick, and from the Admiral of England. About this time the Earl of Murray passed on an embassy to France, where he continued for some time. He sailed in the Lyon, John Brown, master, March 26, 1541. He had £488, 18s. sent to pay his charges. In June, the Ross Herald was despatched on busi-

ness to the Emperor, and the Rothsay Herald went to England with writings to Sir William Evers.

The total expenditure for the year ending 2d Sept. 1540, amounted to £3944, 5s. 10d.; of that sum, £1514, 17s. 11d. was expended on the munitions and craftsmen working within the Castle.

CHAPTER XII.

CONSPIRACIES OF THE NOBLES—POLICY AND PREPARATIONS OF THE KING.

Soon after the King's return from the Isles, he was made acquainted with a new conspiracy against his life, the principal actor being the notorious Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, knight, "the Bastard of Arran." He was Sheriff of Ayr, and principal steward to the King at the time, and had recently been appointed chief-justice in the room of Scot of Balweiry, at the earnest solicitation, as Buchanan insinuates, of the priesthood. He was distinguished by the violence of his temper, and the cruelty of his nature. He had, at the same time, stood high in the opinion of James in early life, because of his prowess and personal valour. Letters of legitimation had been granted him as far back as 1512-13; and through

the influence of his father, James, first Earl of Arran, and the King's friendship, he had acquired extensive estates.

The accuser of Hamilton was his own cousin, James Hamilton, Sheriff of Linlithgow, whom the King, as we have seen, advised to fly from the persecutions in 1534. Returning from abroad by special licence, he accused "the Bastard" of a design to break up the King's chamber on a given day, and slay him; and that he held private intercourse with the Douglasses, the declared enemies of the land. The information was given at the Exchequer, before James Learmonth, Master of the Household; James Kirkaldy, Great Treasurer; and Thomas Erskine, Secretary. Pitcairn tells us that "no traces appear in the Criminal Records of the Trial." But, after consultation, these parties thought proper to apprehend Hamilton—who does not seem to have suspected any such proceeding—and imprisoned him in the Castle. It is said that they felt alarmed at what they had done, considering the character and power of the prisoner, and the certainty of his being revenged upon them should he escape. Understanding, from their spies, that the King was "moved upon suit" to relieve him, they repaired to the Court, then in Fife, and represented the case in the darkest light to James, who passed to Edinburgh, and from thence to Seton, giving command, in the meantime, that the trial should proceed. He

was accordingly convicted and beheaded on the 16th August 1540. In the Treasurer's Accounts the following entry occurs: "Aug. 16. Item, to Robert Blak, maser, for summonyng of ane assise to Schir James Hammyltoune; and for wyne brocht in to the Lordis being vpoun his inqueist, xvs. xd." Leslie says that, "before his execution, he protested before God, that he had not offended the King; but affirmed, that gif he had been as guid a servant to God as he was to the King, he had not died so shamefully; and confessed that he deserved that death, because he offended God oft times for pleasure of the King; and therefore prayed every one to take example of his doings."

As no record of the trial of Hamilton exists, it is impossible to say whether he was justly convicted or not; but it is clear that the King had no hand in bringing him to judgment. His immense estates, even, were not wholly annexed to the Crown, but gifted to numerous courtiers. If he was guiltless of the crime imputed to him—though, it must be remembered, he was formerly a partisan of the Douglasses, and that the King had long ceased to esteem him—it is probable, as has been supposed, that the informer was actuated by motives of revenge for the martyrdom of his cousin, Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Ferne, in which "the Bastard" was believed to have been mainly instrumental. That the King considered he had done good service

in exposing the treachery, is apparent from the following entry in the Treasurer's Accounts: "April 19, 1541. Item, gevin to James Hammiltoune, sone to James Hammiltoune, vmquhill scheref of Linlithgow, to furneis his fader (furth) of the realme;" and that the charge against him was not wholly groundless, seems evident from the fact that James Nasmyth, burgess of Linlithgow, had a remission, June 11, 1542, for treasonable art, part, and assistance afforded to "umquhill Sir James Hammiltoune of Fynnart, knight, in his treasonable acts and deeds."[1] Hamilton appears to have thus had an accomplice or accomplices, though they knew not, perhaps, the full extent of his treason.

Hamilton married Margaret Livingstone, Lady of Easter Wemyss, but appears to have had no children by her. He had two natural sons, *Andrew* and *James*, by Mariot Stewart; and another, *Alexander*, all of whom were legitimised by letters from the King. In 1543, his son James, through the influence of his uncle, the Earl of Arran, obtained a recall of his father's forfeiture. Hamilton was detested for his crimes, and no one lamented his death.

The King alone seems to have been moved by the execution. It would be difficult to assign the reason. Probably the former kindness existing between him and Hamilton, and the thought that the assassin's

[1] Privy al Register.

dagger was so nearly raised by one who had enjoyed his confidence, may have led him to reflect on the uncertainty of his life, surrounded as he was by a nobility whom he had reason to believe were almost all less or more inclined to revolt. Perhaps he regarded the execution of the "the Bastard" as hardly warranted by the evidence, and felt that he might have interfered to save him. Be this as it may, it is apparent, from the Treasurer's Accounts, that he conceived his person to be in danger. On the 20th of August, only four days after Hamilton's execution, there was amongst other articles, a "skyn cote" (buff-coat or jerkin), with lace and silver buttons, sent to him at Falkland. Pitcairn supposes these dresses to have been for field-sports: some of them perhaps were; but the buff-coat looked more like a protection against assault. The King is reported to have abandoned the gaieties of the court, and to have lived like an anchorite. "His sleep," says Tytler, on the authority of the old historians, "became disturbed by frightful visions; at one time he would leap out of his bed, and, calling for lights, command his attendants to take away the frightful spectacle which stood at his pillow, and assumed the form of his justiciar (Thomas Scott), who cursed the hour he had entered his service; at another, his chamberlain was awakened by groans in the royal apartment, and entering, found the King sitting up in bed, transfixed with terror, and declaring that he had been

visited by the Bastard of Arran, who brandished a naked sword, and threatened to lop off both his arms, affirming that he would return, after a short season, and be more fully revenged."

Knox, in his "History of the Reformation," narrates these circumstances with much satisfaction, as evidences of divine chastisement for the monarch's adherence to Catholicity. The vision, he says, was fulfilled in the death of the King's two infant sons, within twenty-four hours afterwards: Prince James, at St Andrews, and Arthur Duke of Albany, at Stirling, of some disease peculiar to children. George Steel,[1] one of his greatest flatterers, continues Knox, dropped off his horse the same day. This George is said to have refused his portion of Christ's kingdom, if it did not come through the prayers of the Virgin Mary! Knox also relates that Thomas Scott, Justice Clerk, died in Edinburgh. The King, then at Linlithgow, called for lights during the night, crying that Scott was dead, for he had been at him with a company of devils. None of these warnings, adds the Reformer, could change the bent of the Prince!

That there was some truth in the rumour as to the disturbed state of the monarch's mind can hardly be questioned; but we see the colour in which it was clothed, and the use to which it was turned. That

[1] This person, one of the King's familiar servants, is often mentioned in the Accounts.

James V. was a persecutor, in the sense conveyed by Knox, is incompatible with the fact, that the master of the household, James Lermonth, and the Lord High Treasurer, James Kirkaldy, two of the three officials by whom "the Bastard of Arran" was tried, were, as Buchanan informs us, "neither of them averse to the reformed religion." The King seems to have been naturally of a kind and sensitive disposition, and it is little wonder that he should have become agitated by the numerous executions which the state of the country, and the safety of the Crown, rendered necessary; nor that, in an age that believed in supernatural agencies, he should have been wholly free from superstition. But the probability is that the facts were greatly exaggerated. At all events, the King could not have lived long like an anchorite, as the Treasurer's Accounts tell us that on the 27th Sept. 1540, the King and Queen passed from Stirling to Glenorchy, "to the hunting of Glenfinlaws," where they enjoyed the pleasures of the chase for a few days.

To support the Church, reformed of its abuses, in opposition to the demands of Henry of England, and restrain the nobility, continued to be the leading policy of James V. Early in November 1540, Sir John Campbell of Lundy was despatched, in company with the Ross herald, on a mission to the Emperor, ostensibly with a view to promote the fisheries, but possibly in connection with the policy

to be pursued between Germany and France. For the better carrying out of his policy, the King assembled a Parliament in December 1540, and a second meeting of the Three Estates, held in March following, deliberated on the manner of preserving peace with England. When in France, in 1537, he had published at Rouen a revocation of all the grants of lands which had, during his minority, been alienated from the Crown; and he now followed it up by a measure that no doubt rested on justifiable grounds, though the circumstances cannot be clearly traced. This was an act of annexation to the Crown of all the Isles north and south of the two Kintires, called the Hebrides. They had been the scene of constant treason and open rebellion, and many of the chiefs were in the hands of the King. On the 15th December 1540, William Hardy, messenger, was despatched to the Isles to take seasin of MacIan's lands.[1] Thus the Orkney and Shetland Isles, the seat of the rebellion of the Earl of Caithness; the lordships of Douglas, Bonkil, Preston, Tantallon, Crawford-Lindsay, Crawford-John, Bothwell, Jedburgh Forest, and the superiority of the Earldom of Angus, were now all annexed to the Crown; together with Glammis and its depend-

[1] In August 1541, £5000 was given to the Earl of Argyle for renunciation of all and sundry the lands and lordships which pertained to the heirs of umquhill M'Ian in the Isles, and now pertaining to Archibald, Earl of Argyle, heritably to remain in the sovereign's hands, *ad perpetuam remanentium.*

encies; Liddisdale, the property of Bothwell, who was attached to the Douglasses, and Evandale, the estate of Sir James Hamilton.

Having thus carried the execution of justice sufficiently far for his purpose, James resolved to try the effect of a more lenient course, by an act of amnesty for all crimes and treasons, except such as were committed by the banished lords—Angus, Sir George Douglas, his brother, and the whole body of his adherents. Not forgetful of the people, and for the more general dispensation of a knowledge of the laws amongst the inferior judges, the Acts of Parliament were ordered to be printed from an authentic copy, attested by the sign-manual of the Clerk-Register. An act, passed at the same time, against destroying the images of the saints, states that the spirit of demolition, afterwards so fully developed, had already begun to exhibit itself against the sacred edifices of the country. Other acts provided for the better and more universal administration of justice, the education of notaries, and the consolidation of the College of Justice. Domestic manufactures and foreign commerce were also specially cared for.

The defence of the country, in case of invasion, seems to have engrossed no small attention. Vast numbers of hagbuts, culverins, and all kinds of artillery, were brought from Holland, Germany, Denmark, &c.; as, for example, Dec. 31, "Item,

gevin to Charles Murray, for xx hawkbuttis brocht furth of Ducheland be him, price of the pece half angell nobill, *summa* xvij lib." The small-arms were repeatedly in lots of *ninety-nine* at a time, as if (observes Pitcairn) there had been some restriction against exportation of arms, unless under one hundred. The strictest orders were given for the observance of the stated military muster, and the arming of all classes of the community. It was declared that the army of Scotland should fight on foot; that the yeomen who brought horses with them should only use them for carriages or baggage waggons; and that none should be permitted to be mounted in the host except Earls, Barons, and great landed proprietors. Such leaders were directed to be armed in white harness, light or heavy, according to their pleasure, and with the weapon becoming their rank; whilst all persons whose fortune was below a hundred pounds of yearly rent, were to have a jack or a halkrick (corslet), or brigantine, and gloves of plate, with *pesane* and gorget—no weapons being admitted by the muster-officer except spears, pikes, of six ells length; Leith axes, halberds, handbows, and arrows, cross-bows, culverins, and two-handed swords. Such, in 1540, were the arms of the Scottish host.

A proclamation was, at the same time, read in Edinburgh, and forwarded to every part of the country, commanding all persons between sixteen

and sixty years of age, to be ready, on a warning of twenty-four hours, to join the royal banner, armed at all points; and a train of sixteen great, and sixty lesser cannon, were ordered to be prepared for the field twenty days after Easter.

A close correspondence appears to have been kept up at this time with the Emperor, from whom writings were brought by a messenger, 20th Feb. 1541.

The Queen had been at Falkland in February, where a gown of purple velvet, and a kirtle of white damask, were sent to her, together with "two pund wecht sewing gold," shewing that she still kept herself busy with embroidery. From Falkland she appears to have removed to Glammis, where she was on a hurried visit in March.[1] From thence she removed to Stirling, where, about the middle of April, she gave birth to Arthur Duke of Albany. On the 24th April, eight ells white taffity were made into "serueittis to hald the candillis at the baptising of my Lord Duke," and on the 27th, the heralds had a gratuity at "the tyme of baptising of my Lord Duke." His death must have occurred almost

[1] Whether the charge against Lady Glammis was well or ill founded, it does not appear that the King felt any remorse on the subject, for he seems to have been particularly fond of residing there. Writings were sent to him at Glammis on the 19th Sept. 1540; again on the 13th Oct.; and on the 19th Dec. a sum was paid for the carriage of tapestry to the Castle. The Queen and he were there in March 1541, as above.

immediately afterwards; for, on the 29th, Andro Yare was paid 14s. "for ane cap of leid that my Lord Duke wes buryit in." The King was in Stirling on the 5th May, when a messenger passed with diligence to him from the Lords (of Justiciary) at Jedburgh. The death of James, Prince of Scotland, at St Andrews, must have occurred a few days subsequently; for on the 25th, the Queen and her ladies are supplied with mantles and "harnessings" of blak velvet; and on the 26th, a quantity of Paris blak was sent to Stirling to be "ane dule weid" to the Countess of Errol, Helen Stewart, daughter of John Earl of Lennox. This was evidently in mourning for the two children. If there is any truth in the King's vision of Sir James Hamilton, it must have occurred after the birth of the Duke of Albany and prior to his death, leaving only a few nights in which such an apparition could have occurred.

Notwithstanding these trying events, and the distressed state of the King's mind, the business of the government went on as usual. At the end of April, messengers were sent to the sheriffs and burghs in the various districts to warn for the "wapinschawing," at the stated time in May. The Justice Aire of Jedburgh, an important one, was going on when the deaths of the infants occurred, and continued with occasional written advisings with the King. June 23, letters were sent north

and south for the expulsion of the Egyptians; and messengers received and despatched in reference to the affairs of the English and Scots Borders. In the spring of this year (1541), as Leslie tells us, the King and Queen, soon after the death of their children, made a progress to the north, attended by the Court. In Aberdeen they remained for fifteen days, and were sumptuously entertained by the Magistrates and Professors of the College.

A royal visit was paid to Crawford-John in July. On the 5th of that month, George Steel (the same party that Knox says died at least two months before) was ordered to hang Bertan canvas between the walls and the tapestry, to save the latter. The tapestry had been conveyed from Edinburgh. Three horse-carriages of tapestry were also sent from Stirling. Next day, Malcolm Gourlay had a quantity of small cord and canvass to mend the pavilions that had been sent to Crawford-John; and on the 9th, John Cob was despatched with writings "to the Kingis grace to Crawford-John." This had been on matters of importance, for the same day, at midnight, a boat was freighted to carry a writing to the Cardinal at St Andrews. Eleven horses were employed in carrying the pavilions to Crawford-John, and remained there (counting from the time they started) from the 8th till the 25th July, when the tapestry was carried to Craignethan, and from thence to Peebles and Edinburgh, on to Stirling.

The Queen appears also to have been at Crawford-John. "July 24, deliuerit to George Carmichaell,[1] sone to the Capitane of Crawfurd, for thre vnce of gold, quhilk he deliuerit to the Queenis grace the tyme scho wes in Craufurd-Johnne, price of the vnce, vj lib. viij s., xix lib. iij s.

One of the King's objects, in visiting Crawford-John, was, no doubt, to inspect the mines, then busily at work, and also to enjoy the hunting, as the use of the pavilions indicates. It is to this period the story told by Sir Walter Scott must refer:

James "obtained miners from Germany, who extracted both silver and gold from the mines of Leadhill, in the upper part of Clydesdale. The gold was of fine quality, and found in quantity sufficient to supply metal for a very elegant gold coin, which, bearing on one side the head of James V. wearing a bonnet, has been thence called the bonnet-piece. It is said, that upon one occasion the King invited the ambassadors of Spain, France, and other foreign countries, to hunt with him in Crawford Moor, the district in which lie the mines I have just mentioned. They dined in the Castle of Crawford, a rude old fortress. The King made some apology for the dinner, which was composed of the game they had killed during the hunting and hawking of the day, but he assured his guests that

[1] Carmichael's sister, Elizabeth, was one of the King's mistresses, and mother of John, Prior of Coldingham.

the dessert would make them some amends, as he had given directions that it should consist of the finest fruits which the country afforded. The foreigners looked at each other in surprise on hearing the King talk of fruits being produced amidst the black moors and barren mountains around them. But the dessert made its appearance in the shape of a number of covered saucers, one of which was placed before each guest, and being examined, was found full of gold bonnet-pieces, which they were desired to accept as the fruit of Crawford Moor."[1]

Cardinal Beaton arrived from Rome in October. On the 15th of that month a gratuity was paid to his servant, who brought writing to the King from France. On St Mungo's day, the 13th of January, the Queen-mother died at Methven Castle, where she and her third husband had resided since 1528. She had long outlived all her influence in the state, still she seems to have continued on good terms with her son, the King. She is said by Leslie to have stood god-mother to Prince James at his christening. By this event the Court was thrown into additional mourning; and numerous entries occur in the Treasurer's Accounts for dule gowns,

[1] This anecdote no doubt refers to James V. Although it was his father who commenced the gold-mines of Crawford Moor, yet it was not till his reign that they became productive. Sir Walter, however, is entirely in error respecting the attempt of the Italian to fly from the walls of Stirling Castle. This occurred in the reign of James IV., and is the subject of a satirical poem by Dunbar, the Court poet at the time.

hoods, coats, and bonnets, furnished to the members of the household. Nov. 11, the Queen and her ladies had "dule weeds and mourning dresses" forwarded to them at Falkland. It is not certain on what day the funeral took place. Messengers were sent to all parts of the country on the 1st of November, warning the nobility "to cum to the Queen's tyrement." The *Chronicle of Perth* tells us that she was "bureit in the Charter Hous, besyde Perth, the Kingis Majestie, nobilitie, and Baronis being present."

The urgency of public affairs allowed the King little time to indulge those "anchorite" feelings attributed to him after the death of his children, which made him childless in so far as a successor to the Crown was concerned. The Isles seem to have given him fresh trouble, consequent probably on the recent forfeitures, so that we find William Strathern ordered, on the 14th November, to pass with letters to Dumbarton, Renfrew, Irvine, and Ayr, to charge the gentlemen of the shires "pass with the Erle of Glenkarne to Kyntyre," in order, we presume, to suppress the discontent. The Castles of Dunwick and Island of Lochbroun, in Islay, were held and fortified by the King. August 30, 1540, Archibald Stewart had money allowed him to pay three gunners in these strongholds. On the 19th of the same month, messengers were despatched in various quarters, warning the barons "to ryde with the Kingis

grace to the Bourdouris." On the 28th, Archibald Heriot passed with writings to the Middle Marches of England.

An embassy arrived from Henry about this time, for the old purpose of sounding the King in reference to the Church. James was out of humour with the freedom of Sadler's language, and gave a reluctant consent to an interview with his uncle. It happened, however, that the English borderers, with the approval, and under the guidance of the wardens, invaded the Scottish territory with every circumstance of havoc and cruelty. The King, disgusted with such contradiction and duplicity, presented a remonstrance to Henry, demanding redress, and declining the proposed interview until it should be obtained. Meanwhile Henry proceeded to York, in the autumn of 1541, and held his Court there for six days, in expectation of the Scottish King. He returned to London disappointed, and in the heat of passion war with Scotland was resolved upon. Sir Robert Bowes was ordered to levy soldiers, the fortifications of Berwick were inspected, and the Archbishop of York was instructed to make search into the most ancient records, with the view of reviving the English claim of supremacy over Scotland. An open rupture was delayed by an embassy from James, expressive of his regret for disappointing Henry, in terms of respect and conciliation.

In adopting this course it is evident the King wished to gain time for farther preparation. The ambassadors seem to have gone to England at the end of December 1541. On the 23d of that month, David Blyth was paid £20, 4s. "to by him ane dwle-cote, huid, and hois, and to mak his expensis passing with the embassatouris in England." The ambassadors were a considerable time in London.

That the King had been active in his exertions to promote the welfare of the country, is apparent from the Treasurer's Accounts. He seems to have been peculiarly anxious to improve the breed of horses by importations from France, Norway, and Sweden, as well as from England and Ireland. In 1540 (14th Feb.) he had a horse brought from Lord Carlisle's stables by Lord Maxwell, for which he paid £26, 14s. 4d., besides £5 to the English groom. Arthur Sinclair received complete payment of his accounts "for the Duche hors brocht furth of Denmark," 24th March 1540. On the 6th June, the man who came with the horse from O'Neill was paid £11, and the Frenchman that brought the horse from France was paid (7th Oct.) £220, besides £22 to his servant. On the other hand, the King was at considerable expense in sending presents of "hackney horses" and hawks both to France and England.

Of the King's employment of foreign artists, the statement of historians is not fully borne out, with

the exception, perhaps, of those engaged in mining operations, and the manufacture of warlike implements. There was a French tailor, to be sure, but he may be regarded as part of the establishment of the Queen. April 16, 1540, he had so much party-coloured cloth delivered to him, to be "ane cote to Serrat the Queen's Fule." The maker of ordnance was a Dutchman: "March 27, 1541. Item, to William Fandik (Vandyke), Ducheman, makar of irne gunnis, fra his entere to wirk in the Castell, quhilk was the xxvj day of August last bypast, to the xxj day of December inclusive, quhilk tyme he decessit, havand vlklie (weekly) xviijs., *summa*, xv lib. vjs." Two of these iron guns, a double culverin and another, were *seyit* and *schott* (proved) at the Craigheads (supposed to be the Calton Hill), on the 18th March 1541. Andres Mensioune (evidently another foreigner) had £13, 6s. 8d. paid him for *graving* the King's arms, with unicorns, thistles, and fleurs-de-lis, and the year upon the mouth of one of them, as well as sundry other pieces. "Jakkis (Jacques) and his colleagues," armourers, who were paid £14, 9s. for "ane licht harnes, with dowbill teslettis, and ane stele-bonnet to the Kingis grace," Jan. 11, 1542, were evidently Frenchmen.

The King's ordinary tradesmen, either connected with the household or otherwise, were natives; as, for example, Mosman, Rhynd, and Kyll, the

jewellers. So was Andro Watson, the painter, and Purves, the clock-maker, who first appears in the Treasurer's Accounts 30th August 1540. "Item, William Purves, knok-makar and smyth," had a pensioune grantit to him "be the Kingis grace, vnder the grete seal, xx lib." It would seem that he was the only clock-maker in Scotland at the time, and the King wished to encourage him. He had to go all the way to St Andrews to repair the clock belonging to the establishment of the young Prince: "July 20, 1541. Item, to William Purves for mending of my Lord Princes knok; and for grathing of the Kingis grace knok, making of ane new bell, with ane kist lokkit and bandit to put her in; xij pair of rache-cupplis,[1] and for expensis maid be him passing to Sanct Androis, and fra thyne to Striveling; as his ticket of compt gevin thairvpoun beris, v lib. ijs.

The produce of the mines, and the manufacturing of articles of jewellery, continued to engage considerable attention upon the part of the Court. Feb. 14, 1540, John Mosman was paid 44s. for a piece of "vnwrocht gold of the mynde," which was sent to the Duke of Guise, in France. June 1, "Item, gevin for ane chenze, deliuerit to Johnne Mosman to melt with other gold to be the Kingis grete chenze, jcx lib." The "great chain" was, no doubt, intended for occasions of state. So also his gown

[1] Dog-cupples.

of "cloth of gold": March 22, "Item, gevin to Johne Young, brodistar, for stuff and broudering of lxiiij pece of crownis, names and thissillis, set vpoun twa tynnakillis of tanny velvet, quhilk wes the lynyng to ane goune of clothe of gold of the Kingis, price of the pece xs., summa, xxxij lib." (This gown had a great many other rich ornaments.) July 30. "Item, to Johnne Mosman, goldsmyth, for the making of ane quhissill of gold of mynde, weyand iiij½ vnces half, vnicorne wecht, with ane dragonne anamulite, to the Kingis grace, the penult day of July, iiij lib." (The whistle was probably to be used in hunting.) The articles of gold purchased from John Mosman, for New-year's gifts for 1541, amounted to £410. Nov. 30. 1541, "deliuerit to Johnne Mosman, for chenzeis of gold and vther gold wark, brocht furth of France be him, and deliuerit to the Quenis grace, iijcxxvj lib."

The ornamentation of the palaces and chapels must have been carried on at great expense: "Feb. 26, 1540. Item, gevin to Williame Schaw, in complete payment of 2466 crownis of the sone, xvijs., for tapeschery brocht hame be him to the Kingis grace, as his compt and precept direcit thairvpoune beris, ane thousand crowns of wecht, summa, jmjc lib." March 26, 1541. Numerous articles furnished to the chapels of Stirling and Holyroodhouse: "Item, for the browdery and warkmanschip of thre Jesus wrocht with crowne of thorne, thre names of

Jacobus Quintus, with the Kingis armes and croune above the heid, and twa vnicornis berand the samin, price of all, vij lib." Aug. 17. "Item, deliuerit to Johnne Moffettis servand, conservatour in Flanderis, send hame be him at the Kingis grace command, to complete ane chalmer of the Antique Historie (in tapestry work), 273 crownis of the son, iijc lib. vjs."

The usual items for bows and arrows to the King appear throughout the accounts. Thomas Udward supplies a quantity, 17th Aug. 1541. And there are numerous entries for defensive armour: "Oct. 3. Item, gevin to ane Ducheman for two pyssanis of mailze, twa pansis of mailze, twa pair of cressonis of mailze, xiiij crownis of the sone; x halkryggis but heid-gair and teslottis, x crownis of the sone; twa halryggis, with heid-gair and teslottis, iiij crownis of the sone; twa stand of harnes, with gluvis and dogingis, ane collar of steill, and ane pyssane of melze, xiiij crownis of the sone; all this gair deliuerit to William Smythberd, summa, xlvj lib. iiijs." Jan. 10. "Item, to Alexander Wicht, cultellar, for v gilt quhingaris, ane Jedburghe-staff, twa speir-hedis, overgilt, and four duggeoun-stokkis, viij lib. xvjs." James had much of his father's taste for fine armour, collected from all countries, as well as embracing the best manufacture of his own; but we do not find that the tournament was carried

[1] Dagger handles.

to the same extent during his reign. The feuds and disloyalty of the nobility no doubt marred a pastime which afforded so much opportunity for the indulgence of private malice. The love of field-sports, of dogs and hawking, as well as the introduction of fowls and animals, either rare or altogether unknown in Scotland, continued to be a lasting source of enjoyment to the King. Aug. 2, 1540. "Item, to Johnne Barbour, to be halk-hudis to the Kingis grace, iiij skynnis, xls." Aug. 13. "Item, gevin to Johnne Mosman for vj¼ vnces silver to be ane clam-schell to kepe the Kingis grace halk mete, iiij lib. xviijs. xd. The King seems to have occasionally fed the hawks himself. The clam, or scallop shell was a favourite pattern for small silver articles of use. He had also a silver clam-shell for holding tooth-powders. In September and October, 1540, hawks were sent as presents to the Kings of England and France. April 6, 1541, hawks were brought from Murray to the King. They were frequently brought from much greater distances; but the King also appears to have had broods of them: July 8, 1542. "Item, gevin to Thomas Ramsay, falconar, for his wageis remanying in Edinburcht vpone the *setting* of the Kingis grace halkis, iiij lib. viijs." It is probable that to James we owe the introduction of quails into this country: May 28, 1541. "Item, to twa boyis that passit to

Striueling with thre dozen qwik qwalzeis,[1] carpandyis,[2] and vther small gair, brocht hame be Hanis Andersoune, ixs." There was another kind of animal introduced this year: July 26. "Item, to Johnne Bog, for expensis maid be him vpoun thre sangweleris (wild-boars) quhilk came furth of France to the Kingis grace; awayting vpoune thame xiiij dayis, and tursing of them to Falkland, vj lib. xjs." These animals were enclosed within a "pale of tymmer" in the park. Falkland seems to have been favourite hawking ground, and most of the foreign fowls and animals imported by the King were kept there. Zoological gardens were unknown at that time, and the collection was called the "King's pets." Dec. 20, 1539. "Item, to Thomas Melvillis wiffe, in Falkland, at the Kingis command, for keping of certane pettis, and nursing of the samyn, vij elnis fyne Franch blak, to be hir ane gowne and ane kirtyll, price of the elne xxxiijs., summa, xj lib xviijs." The *pets* consisted of parroquets, monkeys, peacocks, swans, all of which were then rare in Scotland.

The King's deer-hounds appear to have been

[1] Living quails.

[2] Pitcairn supposes this to have been a kind of apple, from the old French word *carpendu*. But as Hans Anderson was evidently a Norwegian, the probability is, that the quails and *carpandyis* were from Norway. If we read that the *carpandyis* were living, as well as the quails, it follows that Pitcairn must be wrong.

particular favourites. Aug. 15, 1541, William Forrest was paid an account in which were charged "thre pair of grete dogirnis for deir-doggis, overgilt with gold, with thair collaris of purpure velvet, stuthit with gilting stuthis (studs)."

Amongst the incidental expenses may be noticed: March 26, 1541. "Item, to Johnne Patersoune, for ane cais to ane flacone of aquavite, vs." This was no doubt *eau de vie*—French brandy—which at that time was a rare commodity. April 2. "Item, deliuerit to Johnne Bertane, to be ane cote, hois, and brekis, to the littill Twrk, twa elnis of raid and vj quarteris of yallow, iij lib. xviijs." The little Turk seems to have been a dwarf. July 11. "Item, to Johnne Scot, callit the Sanct, at the King's command, xxijs." This was the celebrated Papist, who fasted forty days at several times, abroad as well as in Scotland. He was a great rogue. He wanted to go in partnership with Thomas Duchtie, the Hermit of Loretto, but they could not agree as to the division of profits. He thereupon erected a chapel for himself, in which he set up his own daughter, in place of an image of the Virgin Mary. Sept. 7. "Item, to Johnne Lowise, Fule (court fool), x lib."

The King's liberality is shewn in numerous instances by gifts, marriage-portions, and pensions to domestics of the household, as well as others who had any claim upon him. "Maistres Margarete,"

sister of Lady Lochleven was connected with the Prince's household, and received numerous gifts; Janet Logan, "relict of vmqle. Johnne Wallace of Cragy," had a pension of forty merks yearly. In the King's letter of gift to her, she is styled "of oure kin and blude;" and although she had been well dotit by his royal father, still as the lands and lordship of Cragy had fallen into his hands by reason of ward, he could not leave her altogether destitute of living. What relation she was to the King does not appear, nor is her name mentioned in the genealogies of the Wallace family. Aug. 27. "Item, to the Laird of Creich, in parte payment of his tocher with Madame Grismore, at the King's command, iijcxxxiij lib. vjs. viijd." Madame Grismore was of the Queen's household. "Item, to Helen Rosse, to the help of hir dochteris marrage, at the Kingis grace command, xiij lib. viijs." Helen Ross was also of the Queen's establishment.

The King's illegitimate sons and daughter, Lady Jane, frequently appear: Aug. 27, 1540. "Item, to be ane gowne, cote, and dowblat to Lord Robert, the Kingis grace sone, xv½ elnis gray sating relzé, price of the elne, xxxijs., xxiiij lib. xvs." "Item, to cover ane sadill aud harnessing to Lord James of Kelso, iiij elnis blak velvet, xj lib." Feb. 20, 1541, the "expensis vpoune my Lordis the Kingis sonis" are set down. These sons were "Lord Johnne," and "Lord Robert."

An important national undertaking, the "Register House," was this year completed. Numerous payments were made to the builders as the work proceeded, but the final settlement occurred on the 15th August: "Item, to Johnne Melzour, in complete payment of his lawbouris, warkmanschip, and furnesing of the Register Hous biggit within the Castell of Edinburcht, abone the sowme of ane hundreth and twenty pundis, tane allowance in the last Chekker; conform to the contract maid betuix him and the Clerk Register thairvpoune jclxxx lib."

The total expenditure of the year 1541, as closed on the 2d September, amounted to £36,452, 19s. 2d. Of this, £1170, 7s. 6d. was laid out upon "munitions" and craftsmen in the castle. The sum paid to Sir George Clapperton, "Maister Elimosinar," was £270, 13s. 4d.

The expense of the King's household, in salaries, liveries, and pensions, and the number of individuals connected with it, conveys an idea of greater extent and magnificence, than most people are apt to entertain of the Scottish crown at that time. The principal attendants were, John Leslie, "sewaris," Oliver Sinclair, Henry Kempt, "copparis;" David Wood, of the Crag, Andro Wood, of Largo, "carvouris;" and the Laird of Craigy, "Ischer of the Inner-Chalmer-dur," each of whom had £20 a year. James Learmount and Patrick Wemyss, were "Maisteris of the Household," with each a salary of

£50. The ordinary servants, each having a separate charge, were seventy-two; the extraordinary, forty-three; and the others, including the masters of the King's ships, five Italian minstrels, four minstrels that played on the viols, four that played on the trumpets of war, and two that played upon the "Swiss drum," eighty-six; or, in all, two hundred and one or thereby. The expense amounted to £4172, 8s. 4d.

CHAPTER XIV.

RUPTURE WITH ENGLAND—DEATH OF THE KING.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fiery mood in which the close of 1541 found Henry, in consequence of James not meeting him at York, no immediate or decisive steps were taken to put his threats into operation. Negotiation seems to have been hard at work. James had ambassadors at the English Court in January 1542, to whom Peter Thomson was despatched "with diligence," on the 31st of the month. They had probably continued there from December of the previous year. In May, there were English ambassadors at the Scottish Court, as

well as from France, and a correspondence was kept up with the Duke of Pomerania. Henry must have felt that the misunderstanding between Francis and the Emperor placed him in a securer position, as regarded the plots of his Roman Catholic subjects; while Cardinal Beaton, who endeavoured to checkmate him and the Douglasses in their designs against Scotland, by means of a coalition, found himself considerably nonplussed by the difference which had arisen. But an event occurred about this time which afforded him some scope in another direction.

Emboldened, apparently, by the failure of the coalitions against him, Henry, in an early Parliament of this year (1542), assumed the title of King of Ireland. Hitherto the Kings of England had only styled themselves Lords of that country. This assumption of the kingly title irritated not only the native chiefs, but the descendants of the Scots, who occupied portions of the northern division of the island, between whom and Scotland an intercourse had always been maintained. A deputation having been sent to James, inviting him to accept the allegiance of the Irish, and offering him the crown, it was graciously received. Though the King probably never seriously contemplated accepting the offer, yet the circumstance, coupled with the title of Defender of the Faith, which Henry himself once prided in, and which had lately been conferred upon

the Scottish monarch, could hardly fail to provoke his enmity.

It was now evident that peace could not much longer be maintained between the two countries; and every exertion was made by James to be prepared for war. The casting of cannon and culverins, in which foreigners seem to have been chiefly employed, was briskly carried on, while the powder-mill was also kept at work, and hagbuts continued to be largely imported. The King himself made considerable preparation in the way of armour and weapons for his own use. Among other articles, a barbed harnessing was provided for his horse. Considerable sums were expended on the "Brint Island," and the "Kingis grace schipps;" and artillery and ammunition had been previously conveyed to the Hermitage or Castle of Roxburgh.

It is uncertain on which side aggressive measures commenced; but just as the King had despatched Sir James Learmonut to the English Court with a conciliatory message, Sir James Bowes, Warden of the West Marches, accompanied by the Douglasses and their followers, at the head of 3000 horse, broke across the Border, for the usual purpose of insult and spoliation; but they were met by Huntly with a strong force, aided by Lord Home and four hundred clansmen, and completely defeated at Haddenrig. Six hundred prisoners of note fell into the hands of the victors, among whom was the Lord

Warden himself and his brother. The Earl of Angus was nearly taken; but he slew his assailant with his dagger, and escaped.

Open war was now inevitable. Henry ordered the Duke of Norfolk to levy a force of 40,000 men, with which he made rapid marches to York. The leaders of divisions were, the Earls of Southampton, Shrewsbury, Derby, Cumberland, Rutland, and Hertford, with Angus and some of his Scottish followers. At York, Norfolk was met by a body of commissioners from James, instructed to make a final effort for the preservation of peace. Norfolk was prevailed upon to halt for some time at York, listening to proposals for the averting of war, and a personal interview with Henry. Whether the Scottish monarch merely wished to gain time, or was sincerely anxious to avoid war, because he was afraid to trust the nobles, is doubtful. At all events, he lost no time in preparing for the worst. The Treasurer's Accounts throw some light on what was going on at this time. July 9, Adam Forman was paid a sum for passing with writings to "the Counsall of York," and thereafter to the Master of the Household at London; so that, while the commissioners were with Norfolk at York, there was also an ambassador with Henry at London. At the same time, payments were made to the Englishman who brought writings from York and Sir William Evers. Aug. 12, Peter Thomson again passed with

writings to London to the Master of the Household. While these negotiations were in progress, letters were despatched to the Merse, charging all who had fled to return for the defence of the country; the Laird of Bass was ordered to garrison Edington; so was Lord Yester, as well as the freeholders and tenants of Coldinghame, their respective places; the carters in all the shires were ordered to hold themselves in readiness within twenty-four hours' warning; and the Sheriffs of the various sea-boards, to warn the shipping within their bounds to be ready, on six hours' notice, to carry men from the Isles. In August, messengers were sent to the sheriffdoms of Linlithgow, Haddington, Peebles, and Selkirk, to pass within six hours to Lauder, and wait upon the lieutenant; and four surgeons were ordered to proceed to the Border, "for curing of all personis that hapnit to be hurt be Inglis menne." Two ensigns, or standards, were also furnished for the army; one to Charles Murray, and the other to Walter Scrymgeour, heritable royal standard-bearer.

Amidst all the anxiety of negotiation and the din of warlike preparation, the King was in so far mentally at ease, as not to forego his love of field-sports. In the Treasurer's Accounts there is an entry: "July 16, Item, for cariage of the palseonis to the hunting, and hors wage, fra the vij of this moneth, ix lib.;" but where the hunting took place

is not stated. From another item, 21st July, being the payment of a horse's hire for the King, "and at his returnyng agane furth of Ergyle," it looks as if he had been at Glenfinlas. But it would seem rather to have been at Meggotland; for, "July 7, Item, gevin to Ormond, persewant, for his expensis passing to warne the Lairdis of Striuelingschyre and Lothyane to ryde with the Queenis grace the tyme sche passit forth of Striueling to Peblis, xxij s." And again, "July 16, Item, gevin to William Hardy, passing to Dunfermling with ane close writting to the Bischoppis, being thair, to cum to Edinbrucht to convoy the Queenis grace, &c., xxij s." The King appears also to have been at Peebles on the 13th July, when "ane ring, with ane grete saphire," was delivered to him. About this time, "ane bow, ane braise, ane gloffe, and ane dusane arrowis, to the Queenis grace, along with arrows for the King, were delivered to Oliver Sinclair and John Tennent. The bow and arrows for the Queen may have been for mere pastime, but she was a woman of spirit, as she proved during her subsequent regency, and her use of them possibly was to fan the national feeling for war.

The Treasurer's Accounts for 1542 come down only to Aug. 16. From the 7th September 1541 to that day, the year's expenditure amounted to £24,493, 11s. 10d. The sum laid out on "munitions," was £1290, 14s. 2d. Some of the incidental

expenses are curious, as illustrative of the increasing taste of the Court for articles of value and ornament, and the mode by which the King continued to pursue his plans for improving the breeds of cattle, and the introduction of fowls and animals, either scarce or unknown to Scotland. We shall take a few of the items in the order they appear: "Jan. 11. Item, to Robert Crag, for ane collar of gold sett with perle, brocht hame be him to the Quenis grace, xvij lib. xijs.; and for bonettis, swerd-beltis, sewing-silk, and vther gear, xiiij lib. xijs.; summa, xxxij lib. iiij s. Item, gevin to Williame Calderwood, for ane pair of organis, deliuerit to the chapell in Halyrudhous, lx lib. Feb. 14. Item, gevin to the Quenis painter, to by colouris to paint with, in Falkland, xj lib. Item, gevin to Johnne Mosman, for chenzeis, tabulattis, tergattis, bracelattis, ringis, stanis, and perles, furnesit thairto, iiijclxxxvj lib. iiijs. Item, gevin to Thomas Rhynd, for sielyke gold-wark, ijcxlxxvj lib. vjs. May 24. Item, to be ane cote, and ane pair of hois (for the King) of the Italiene fassoune, and to jeit the cote with thre vanis aboute the taill, xj elnis blak veluet of Janis, xxviij lib. [with other items]. June 7. Item, to Johnne Caldwallis, for his expensis passing in Norroway for halkis to the Kingis grace, xxij lib. Item, gevin to the Laird of Brunstoune, for his expensis passing to France, at the Kingis command, with four hors, jcx lib. Item, deliuerit to Andro

Wood of Largo, at the Kingis command, be ane precept, to redeme landis, as his grace hes gevin him command, ij lib. July 29. Item, to Alexander Arok of Sillibawbe, in tochir gude with Barbara Falconer, dochter to vmqle. David Falconer, at the Kingis command, because the said vmquhile David was slane in his grace service,[1] jcxxxiij lib. vjs. viijd. The total expense of the year, ending 16th August 1542, amounted to £24,493, 11s. 10d.

The conferences at York and London led to no satisfactory result. Henry imperatively ordered his lieutenant to advance. In a proclamation issued at the same time, he stated the reasons which had led to the war, and revived the old claim of superiority over Scotland. Although it was now winter, Norfolk advanced into Scotland, destroying numerous granges and villages on the banks of the Tweed. James, through his commissioners, Learmont and the Bishop of Orkney, once more attempted a negotiation, but to no purpose.

At last, ordering Huntly, Home, and Seton to watch the operations of Norfolk, the King himself assembled his main army, consisting of 30,000 men, on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh. This large force was amply fit to meet the English, but it was far from being strong in the only element of strength—unity. The nobles, by whom it was led,

[1] He was killed at the siege of Tantallon.

were for the most part indisposed to a war with England, not only because of their disapproval of the King's policy, which sought to weaken their power, and to elevate the people, but because they favoured the Reformation, and preferred the English alliance, while not a few of them were secretly bound to support the Douglasses.

James marched his army towards the Borders, and encamped on Fala Muir, a plain near the western termination of the Lammermuir Hills. Here intelligence was suddenly brought to him that Norfolk, from the severity of the weather and failure of his supplies, had recrossed the Tweed in full retreat. Alarmed at the near proximity of Huntly's division, the English became in a manner panic-stricken, in so much that had that leader followed energetically on their rear, he might have turned the flight into a total rout. It being now the end of November, and the supplies which the army had brought with them nearly consumed, considerable distress prevailed in the King's host; still the moment of retaliation appeared too favourable to be lost. It was not, perhaps, so much the mere desire to punish the English for their present inroad and conflagrations, as to revenge former events. Henry is understood to have taunted James rather savagely in the course of their recent negotiations, that he had still the means of scourging the Scots as he had done his father and his army at Flodden,

and it was no doubt in wrath at the conduct of his uncle that he eagerly insisted on an invasion of England. In this proposition he met a haughty and nearly unanimous refusal. Sir John Scott of Thirlestane was the only chief willing to follow the King; and in memory of his fidelity, James granted a charter of arms, entitling his family to bear a border of *fleurs-de-lis*, similar to the royal arms, with a bundle of spears for the crest, with the motto, "Ready, aye ready." It is said the nobles even contemplated a repetition of the Lauder Bridge affair, when the nominee of James III. was suspended over the parapet; but there was danger in an attempt of this kind with the "King of the Commons," and they contented themselves with refusing to cross the English boundary. It was in vain that James implored and threatened, nothing could move them to accompany him in pursuit of the enemy. They even went so far as to insult him by saying that "he was ane better priestis King, nor he was thairis; and used more of priestis counsall nor of thairis." Overwhelmed with indignation and disappointment, he disbanded the army, and returned to the capital.

Though thus deserted, the King was not without resources. The wealthy churchmen were unanimous in his favour, and there were still some of the nobles attached to him. It was resolved to muster the army a second time; and for this purpose Lord Maxwell, who had always been a warm supporter of

the Crown, offered his services. A body of ten thousand men were accordingly collected together with great secrecy and expedition. It having been determined to invade England by the western marches, the Sovereign made up his mind to remain at Caerlaverock until the result should be known.

There is something in the conduct of the King at this time which none of our historians seem to have remarked, or rightly understood. At Fala Muir, James was anxious to lead the army himself, that he might, apparently, have the satisfaction of measuring swords with Norfolk, and avenging Flodden field. With the small body under Lord Maxwell, and winter as it was, his intention could only be to inflict a brief raid upon the Borders of England, in return for the ravage committed by Norfolk. But he had apparently a farther experiment in view; an experiment which makes us almost doubt the monarch's sanity at the moment. This was the secret appointment of Oliver Sinclair as commander of the army after it had reached the Esk. No sooner had the men encamped on English ground—at the Solway Moss—than a platform was erected on the shoulders of some of the troops, where one of the King's heralds read aloud the commission in favour of Sinclair.

Little is said of this person in history save that he was "brother to the Laird of Roslin,"[1]

[1] Buchanan.

and the King's favourite. He was styled Oliver Sinclair of Pitcarns. He had a feu-charter, from Robert Abbot of Holyrood, to himself and Katherine Ballendene, his spouse; whom failing, to James Sinclair, his natural son (afterwards legitimised) of the lands of Ahammer or Whitekirk, within the constabulary of Haddington, dated Jan. 17, 1538, which charter was confirmed by the King, 24th Jan. 1539. On the 28th Feb. 1540, he was appointed Captain and Keeper of Tantallon, with the mains and lands of Redside, Meadows, and rabbit warrens, for which he pȳld 140 merks.[1] In the Treasurer's Accounts, there is, "Oct. 6, 1540, Item, to Olipher Sinclare, at the Kingis command, to the warkis at Tamtalloune, lxvj lib. xiijs. iiijd." He appears to have been with the King in his expedition to the Isles, for there is in the Privy Seal Register a protection, safeguard, and respite to Oliver Sinclair of Pitcarns, Katherine Bellendene, his spouse, their men, tenants, and servants, "to indure quhill the said Oliveris returnying agane fra the Ysles, and xl dais thairefter," dated at St Andrews, 27th May 1540. In August (13th) of the same year he had a gift of the goods, &c., which pertained to Sir David Huchesone, Provost of Roslin, escheated because of his being "abjurit of certane poyntis of heresy." Sir David had been one of the Pope's knights, and fallen into heresy, but not

[1] Privy Seal Register.

so deeply as to forfeit his life. In 1541 he had several other small gifts; and in that year his name occurs in the Treasurer's Accounts as one of the King's cup-bearers. The same year, April 30, he had from the King a tack for three years of the lands and lordship of Orkney and Zetland, with the constabulary and keeping of the Castle of Kirkwall, constituting him and his heirs, justices, sheriffs, admirals, and bailies, both by sea and land, of the above lordship, for which he was to pay 3000 merks yearly.[1] August 31, 1542, this tack was extended to five years from the feast of Lammas 1543. Sinclair was thus a person in good esteem with the King, and he may have been a person of extraordinary merit; but his appointment to the command of the army, in place of Lord Maxwell, to whose loyal and spirited conduct he was mainly indebted for the small army, looked like an act of madness; and yet Lord Maxwell appears to have been almost the only individual of the nobility willing to submit to the authority of so unlooked for a commander. Knox accuses Sinclair of having been a minion, or in the pay of the priests; but in matters of this kind the reformer is not a reliable authority. Buchanan tells us that the King's design was, "that if his army had had the better, the glory of the victory should not redound to the nobles."

That the King, by such a course, meant to signify

[1] Privy Seal Register.

his contempt for the nobility is very evident; but the result was just what might have been expected. The herald's proclamation was received with murmurs of discontent. Several of the older barons declared they could not act under such a leader without degradation, while their followers adopted their feelings. Lord Maxwell and some of the more loyal peers attempted to overcome their scruples; but the whole army speedily became agitated with the discussion, presenting the appearance of a disorderly mob. Two of the English leaders, Dacre and Musgrave, at the head of three hundred horsemen, approached at this crisis, and seeing how matters stood, dashed in amongst them with levelled lances. In the panic which their sudden appearance created, they were believed to be the advance of a larger army. The rout was instantaneous. A thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the English; among whom were the Earls of Cassilis, Glencairn, the Lords Somerville, Maxwell, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming, the Masters of Erskine, and Home of Ayton.

The intelligence of this disaster overwhelmed the King. Although he had himself to blame, yet it seems instantly to have settled down upon his mind, that his nobles had resolved to betray him to England. In a state of great mental depression, he returned to Holyrood, where he remained about a week. He then repaired to Falkland, and shut

himself up, refusing nourishment of any kind. He was naturally of a high and sensitive spirit, and could not brook the contempt which the conduct of his nobles exposed him to both at home and abroad. There is every reason to believe, at the same time, that his intellect had become impaired by recent events. "James," says Tytler, "had often borne misfortune; but his mind was too proud and impatient to endure dishonour, or to digest the anguish of reiterated disappointment; and although in the vigour of his strength and the flower of his age, with a constitution unimpaired, and almost unvisited by disease, he sunk under this calamity, and seems truly to have died of a broken heart. He shut himself up in his palace of Falkland, and relapsed into deep gloom and despondency; he would sit for hours without speaking a word, brooding over his disgrace; or would awake from his lethargy, only to strike his hand on his heart, and make a convulsive effort, as if he would tear from his breast the load of despair which oppressed it. Exhausted by the violence of the exertion, he would then drop his arms by his side, and sink into a state of helpless and silent melancholy. This could not last: it was soon discovered that a slow fever preyed upon his frame; and having its seat in the misery of a wounded spirit, no remedy could be effectual. When in this state, intelligence was brought him, that his

queen had given birth to a daughter.[1] At another time it would have been happy news, but now, it seemed to the poor monarch the last drop of bitterness which was reserved for him. Both his sons were dead. Had this child been a boy, a ray of hope, he seemed to feel, might yet have visited his heart; he received the messenger, and was informed of the event without welcome, or almost recognition; but wandering back in his thoughts to the time when the daughter of Bruce brought to his ancestor the dowry of a kingdom, observed, with melancholy emphasis, 'It came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass.'[2] A few of his most favoured friends and councillors stood round his couch; the monarch stretched out his hand for them to kiss; and regarding them for some moments with a look of great sweetness and placidity, turned himself upon his pillow and expired. He died (13th Dec. 1542) in the thirty-first year of his age, and the twenty-ninth of his reign; leaving Mary, an infant of six days old, who succeeded to the Crown."

The picture of the monarch's death is a melancholy one—so young in years and yet so heart-broken. Pitscottie describes the death-scene more quaintly, but to the same purpose: "As I have showin you, he turned him vpoun his back, and

[1] Mary, Queen of Scots, was born at Linlithgow on the 7th Dec. 1542.

[2] Leslie.

lookit and beheld all his lordis round about, and gave ane litle lauchter, syne kissed his hand, and gave it till all his lordis about him, and thairafter held vp his handis to God, and yeildit the spirit." He was buried on the 14th of January 1543, in the monastery of Holyrood, near the remains of his first wife, Magdalene.

James left, as heiress of the Crown, his infant daughter, Mary, afterwards Queen of Scotland. But he had made no will or arrangement as to how the government should be carried on. He was too far sunk in despondency to make any effort at adjustment when the intelligence of Mary's birth reached him.

His seven illegitimate children are thus put down by the historian of the House of Stuart: 1. James, Prior of St Andrews, Earl of Murray, and Regent (by Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Lennox). 2. Robert, Prior of Holyrood; 3. John, Prior of Coldinghame, father of Francis Earl of Bothwell; 4. James, Abbot of Kelso (by Elizabeth Shaw, of Sauchy's family). 5. Adam, Prior of the Chartereux at Perth (by Elizabeth, daughter to the Earl of Lennox). 6. Robert, Abbot of Whithorn; 7. Jean (by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Carmichael.)

CHAPTER XV.

CHARACTER OF JAMES V.

THE character of the King may be amply gathered from the foregoing pages; yet a few concluding remarks can scarcely be considered out of place. George Buchanan, who was tutor to one of the King's sons, and knew him personally and well, says, "In his lifetime, his countenance and the make of his body, were very comely; his stature not very tall, but his strength above the proportion of his body; his wit was sharp, but not sufficiently cultivated with learning, which was the fault of the times; his diet was sparing; he seldom drank wine. He was most patient of labour, cold, heat, and hunger. . . . But his great virtues were almost equalled by as many vices. Yet they had this alleviation, that they seemed rather imputed to the times in which he lived than to his own natural disposition. For such a universal licentiousness had overrun all, that public discipline could not be retrieved, but with a great deal of strictness and severity." To the picture here given, it may be added, from *Scaligeriana*, that his nose was prominent; but so far from being ugly or deformed, it

was "*honestamentum faciei*," the ornament of his face.

Buchanan's testimony as to the vices of James being rather the fault of the times than of *his own natural disposition*, must be held as true; because the historian belonged to the party opposed to the King in politics and religion, and is by no means free from partial views and biassed statements. Admitted, then, that the King's natural disposition was good, how could "his great virtues," which Buchanan enumerates, be "almost equalled by as many vices?" He was sparing of diet, and seldom drank wine; hence he was neither a glutton nor a drunkard, and could have no other personal or constitutional vice than that of a love of pleasure, which Buchanan attributes more to the general licentiousness of the age than to himself. Indeed, it is difficult to draw the line in charges of this kind, so much is the vice a matter of circumstance. Of itself, it is not *a crime in nature*; but rather the result of a positive natural law. At the same time, nature punishes all excesses, and none of her laws can be outraged with impunity. If not a crime in nature, it follows that it must be made so by conventional rule, and that rule, as we know from history, and the state of society in other countries, is not universal. Had James been the Grand Turk or the Emperor of China, not a blot would have stained his reputation as to this the only vice which the

most fanatical of his contemporaries or historians have presumed to bring against him. If the fashion, or, it may be, the immorality of the times in which he lived, is any excuse for the King, Buchanan thought he was entitled to be excused, because all, or nearly all, the Reforming nobility as well as their opponents, were guilty.

The indulgences of the King, so far as is known, led to no vicious results, neither to himself nor to others. He died, as Tytler remarks, with a constitution almost unvisited by disease. His children, as attested by the Treasurer's Accounts, were well cared for in infancy, and ample provision assigned them for after-years; while their mothers, "ladies of high rank," had pensions or gratuities; and two of them, at least, were married to noblemen. No personal or social evil arose from the unlicensed intercourse of the King. The crime, therefore, lies wholly in its being opposed to law and the moral restraints of the country.

Apart altogether from the case of James V., it may be questionable how far it is subservient to the interests of society, that crimes not in themselves criminal, according to nature, should be made so by conventional enactment. Armed with this kind of legislation, we have been at war with nature as far back as our ecclesiastical records extend. And what has been the result? Notwithstanding the "strictness and severity" of which Buchanan speaks,

the records of the Church-courts shew, that whatever may have been the extent of bastardy in the Roman Catholic times of Scotland, it could hardly have been greater than during the heyday of the Covenant. The Kirk-session and Presbytery records prove this. Matters now, perhaps, are somewhat changed. The spiritual courts have lost much of their former domination; but the new system of registration shews that the crime has not abated; while the circuit calendars exhibit an alarming increase of a crime almost new to Scotland—that of *child murder*. The shame with which the Church, and, through it, society, have branded bastardy, has not lessened the evil, but led to the commission of what is *really a crime in nature*—one of the most heartless and indefensible of all kinds of murder—the taking away of infant life! We search the criminal records in vain for traces of this crime in the reign of James V. The reason is obvious. Though unlawful, bastardy was not looked upon in the light it is now, and legitimisation was within the reach at least of the more wealthy.

We would be the last to argue in favour of libertinism. On the contrary, we think the "lords of the creation" enjoy, in this respect, a mischievous immunity, both in the eye of the law and of society. The penalty and the odium is not sufficiently shared with the other sex, who are least able to bear them. Until our "fast young men," if not old ones, are

made to feel the effects of their indiscretion in character as well as purse, it will be in vain to think of amelioration by an unmanly fixing of the onus on women. Of the two evils, since it appears we must have one of them, we would choose bastardy rather than *child murder*. But if this crime is to be put down, it is inevitable that we must either increase the *severity* and *certainty* of punishment *on all concerned*—the man as well as the woman—because it is to be presumed that he has not made requisite provision for the birth of his offspring, or relax the censorship of public opinion. Yet we would rather realise the noble sentiment of Burns—

> "And gently scan thy brother man,
> Still gentlier *sister woman*."

If James V., in reference to the only vice chargeable against him, was no worse than the age in which he lived, it follows that he is fully entitled, without any drawback, to all the merit of the "great virtues," by the strength of which he was enabled to maintain himself in his peculiar position. That he did not, amidst the temptations to which he was subjected, while under the control of the Douglasses, fall a victim to the worst passions, is no doubt attributable to his naturally good and noble disposition. Every vice had its lure—according to Sir David Lyndsay—and these plied too, when the

King was so young as to render his capture almost certain.

Notwithstanding the charge of covetousness brought against him, amongst others by Buchanan, who, with the same pen, satisfactorily accounts for it, the Treasurer's Books shew that he was essentially of a liberal and generous disposition. No such charge was ever mooted until after his marriage with Mary of Guise, when, in consequence of his increased courtly expenses, the repair and enlargement of the royal palaces, and the greatly augmented outlay in defence of the country, he was compelled to look more anxiously to the means of replenishing his exchequer; but his necessities in this way seem to have exercised little influence on the native goodness of his heart, which continued to be exercised in numerous ways.

That James was one of the most patriotic of our kings is exemplified throughout his whole life. He patronised and delighted in everything national—national pastimes, national music, and national literature. Nor was his zeal less in promoting what may be termed the material interests of the country. He engaged foreign miners of skill to guide and aid the national workmen in digging for gold and silver at what are now called the "Lead Hills" at Crawford Muir, in Lanarkshire, in the hope that great profit to the state would accrue therefrom. He was at the same time thoroughly alive to the true source

of the wealth of nations—agriculture and commerce. Scotland had then but little to barter, save in the raw state—such as hides and wool—still treaties of commerce were entered into with foreign powers, and very considerable traffic was maintained with Denmark, France, and the Netherlands. The Kings of Scotland, from David I. downwards, usually farmed a portion of their lands; and James V. appears to have been no exception to this rule. He had large flocks of sheep pastured in Ettrick forest. From the following entry in the Treasurer's Accounts, it is presumable that coals were also raised and exported on account of the Crown: "Feb. 4. Item, to ane Ducheman that haid his schip brokin in Sanct Androis with the Kingis colis, xxij lib."

In connection with the prosperity of the soil, the patriotism of the King was apparent in the efforts which he made, at great expense, to improve the breed of horses. He had, no doubt, two objects in view—the use of the horse in war as well as for domestic purposes. The native horses were small and incapable of competing with the great war-horses of England. The moss-troopers, well adapted for forays and surprises, were too lightly mounted and armed to do battle with the fully equipped men-at-arms of the south. So great was the deficiency that the Scottish army almost invariably fought on foot. The King kept a large stud of brood-mares, of whom one Charles Murray was

master, with the view of propagating a better class of animals.

The uncertain state of affairs with England, occasioning repeated appeals to the sword, naturally led the King to study the defence of the kingdom; and while he brought in foreign artizans to aid in the manufacture of arms, he appears to have been chiefly actuated by the desire of stimulating native ingenuity and industry. That the feudal troops should be made as efficient as possible, the annual "wapinschaws"—for the inspection of arms and drill—were enforced with much regularity; and great pains were taken to cultivate the use of the bow.

James V. may be said to have been the first of our monarchs who specially supported the spread of national literature. This is shewn by the translation of Boece's History of Scotland, both in prose and verse, as well as of Livy, and others of the Latin classics, all of which he paid for out of the Treasury, as well as the printing of the prose translation of the history. He, besides, contributed largely towards elevating the native tongue, not only by his own pen, but by the confidential place assigned in the Court to Sir David Lyndsay and other writers in the common language.

As a poet, we have no means of judging of the genius of the King otherwise than by the few pieces contained in this volume. They are master pro-

ductions, superior in every respect to anything of the kind that can be adduced of the same period. Yet they carry with them the idea that they are not the composition of one who professed the art of poesy, but rather of a joyous heart relieving itself of sterner cares in the unguarded flow of a frolicsome spirit. To say that the King sat down to *compose poetry*, as James I. must have done when he wrote "The King's Quair," would be absurd. "Christ's Kirk on the Green" reads as if it had been rolled off in an exuberant moment, without effort; and, in like manner, "The Gaberlunzie Man," and "The Jollie Beggar," seem to have been each the produce of a single merry thought. To say that James was incapable of grave or sentimental composition, would be an unwarranted assumption. When these poems were written, the King was in the vigour of youth, a free monarch, beloved by his people, with the prospect of a long reign, and the power and the will to do much good to the land of his forefathers. They are a reflex of this happy feeling, conveyed in the language and humour of the peasantry, amongst whom he frequently mixed *incognito*, and whose homely, though rude jokes and pastimes, he made no secret of appreciating. That he was at the same time capable of deep and pathetic sympathies, is evident from the record of his numerous acts of kindness and charity, and, above all, from his death! He died of intense sensitiveness; a mixture of

shame at the conduct of his nobles, and of disappointed patriotism; the dread that the country would become a prey to his imperative uncle. A strong and vigorous young man, in his thirty-first year, reduced to the grave in a few days by the action of his mind, bespeaks an excess of fineness in the mental qualities. There was even sentiment, poetical, if you will, in the manner of his death. He looked up and smiled upon the few courtiers around his bed, gave them his hand to kiss, then turned his face to the wall, and expired.

But James was stern as well as kind, and he had great firmness. Without such qualities to check the natural flow of his disposition to friendship and familiarity, he would have been a prey to every flatterer, and wholly unfit for his kingly office. His banishment of the Douglasses, and uncompromising bearing towards the faction by whom they were favoured, is a notable example of fixedness of purpose. Perhaps, in the cases of Armstrong and Lady Glammis, a less severe punishment might have sufficed; but we ought not to judge of such things by our own feelings and our own times. We must think of the monarch, the representative of justice in a kingdom trampled down by family feuds, factions, and high-handed noble and baronial plunderers. He saw the misery of his poorer subjects, and felt the hazard to which the Crown itself was exposed, if such a state of things were not checked by strik-

ing examples of punishment. Armstrong, on the one hand, had been a bold and incorrigible plunderer; and Lady Glammis, on the other, had long and openly contemned the law against "aiding and abetting" the Douglasses (to whom she was so nearly allied); while the major crime brought against her —that of conspiring the King's death—was, at least, proved to the satisfaction of a jury.

James was, perhaps, in the estimation of some, too abstract and uncompromising in his ideas of justice. But by this apparently inherent principle of his mental constitution, "the rush-bush was made to keep the cow;" and to it we no doubt owe that palladium of our legal rights—the Court of Session. His love of justice led to extraordinary personal exertion to secure it for his subjects, and called forth numerous edicts for regulating and purifying the inferior courts, as well as for the better education of the judges and executors of the law. To it, also, the age was indebted for the first printed Acts of Parliament, which he caused to be circulated amongst the sheriffs, that they might be read to the ignorant people. Under his auspices many improvements were introduced in the machinery of the law. Amongst others, a regular record of the criminal court, called the Books of Adjournal, were instituted; and he built the first Register House that ever had existence in Scotland. This

building was within the walls of the Castle, and there the national muniments were preserved.

In place of regarding James V. as a frivolous lover of low company, as Pinkerton has characterised him, he ought to be esteemed as one of the brightest ornaments of the Scottish throne. That he loved the common people for their honesty and patriotic worth rather than an intriguing, factious, unprincipled nobility, who were at all times ready to sacrifice crown and country to their personal interest or spleen, is a proof of his own purity and honourable feeling; and we have yet to learn whether the prosperity of Scotland, in our own times, is not more indebted to the commoners, in whom James delighted, than to the nobility, whom he despised. Let any one look back impartially over the history of Great Britain for the last three hundred years, and say for what great enterprise or source of national industry are we indebted to the nobility or barons! Have they not rather been, and still are, a drag upon the industrial efforts of the middle and lower classes? Let him say, also, whether it would not have greatly accelerated the national prosperity and advancement, had the King succeeded in his policy of circumscribing both the power and the property of the great barons. What he attempted more than three hundred years ago, is, to a very considerable extent, still a desideratum.

That the memory of James V. is not held in the estimation it deserves, is attributable to the Reformation, accomplished eighteen years after his demise; and to the class of historians who took upon themselves the task of narrating its progress and triumph. From Knox downwards, all have had their philippic against him, because he would not confiscate the Church at the bidding of his uncle, Henry VIII., and that some of the earlier trials for heresy occurred in his reign. Even Pitscottie, otherwise a warm admirer of the King, joins in declaiming against his alleged subserviency to the priesthood. Bishop Leslie alone refrains from animadversion. James was peculiarly situated at this crisis; but, as we have already demonstrated, he could not in candour be blamed as a participator in these persecutions. The Church, founded before the Scottish throne itself was settled, claimed a distinct jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters—especially in points of faith—and he was not in a position to control it. Even he himself was liable to prosecution, and probably would have been put upon his trial, had he chosen to avow himself of Lutheran opinions. The Crown was not strong enough at the time to set the Bishops at defiance; nor were the people prepared for the change, even although he had declared for the Reformation. We have every reason to believe, from the license which he gave to Sir David Lynd-

say, George Buchanan, and others of his familiars and courtiers, in their exposure of clerical misdeeds, that he contemplated a thorough cleansing of the Church, which was a great step in a monarch so situated as he was. Had the nobles at Fala consented to support him in pursuit of the disordered and retreating English, and had he succeeded, as seemed probable from the equipment and spirit of the army, in punishing the aggressors, a durable peace might have ensued; for Henry was sensitively alive to the danger of a protracted war with Scotland. He would then have had more confidence and more power to work out his ideas of ecclesiastical regeneration. As it happened, the King was baffled by his rebellious nobles; and the historians of the Reformation draw no distinction between him and the bench of Bishops by whom the early Protestants were condemned to the stake. At the same time, Knox and Pitscottie, notwithstanding their prejudices, admit that he was a good Prince.

It is surely time, therefore, that the memory of a King and a poet, of whom Scotland ought to be proud, and whom the common people loved because of his justice, kindness, and condescension, should be viewed in the reflection of its own proper light, apart wholly from that false colouring which religious bias, more than any other, invariably depaints alike the object of its praise or blame. He was, as

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018